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WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.



WINCHESTER : PRINTED BY WARREN AND SON, HIGH STREET.

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LIFE OF
WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM,

*SOMETIME BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,
AND LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND;*

WITH APPENDICES

BY
GEORGE HERBERT MOBERLY, M.A.
(late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.)

...

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TO
ONE OF THE GREATEST OF LIVING WYKEHAMISTS,
Roundell, Earl of Selborne,
TWICE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,
THIS LIFE OF OUR COMMON **Founder,**
BY WHOM WE ARE ALL "LINKED IN BANDS OF BROTHERHOOD,"
WHO, BESIDES BEING BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, WAS ALSO
TWICE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,
IS, WITH THE MOST LOVING RESPECT,
DUTIFULLY INSCRIBED.

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PREFACE.

I OWE the Wykehamical public some apology for the present attempt to write the life of their Founder, seeing that this has been done many times in the five centuries which have elapsed since he lived. But many as have been his biographers, there is but one life of Wykeham which is at the same time exhaustive and critical, that by Dr. Robert Lowth, afterwards bishop of London. This formed the first real epoch in the knowledge of the subject, and really left nothing to be desired. But this appeared more than a hundred years ago ; and meanwhile our knowledge of the general history of England, with which Wykeham had such special relations, has grown rapidly by the publication of such authorities as are contained in the Series published by the Master of the Rolls, and of such critical histories as that of the Constitution by bishop Stubbs, of Chester : a work to which I am deeply indebted, more than, I fear, would appear to be the case by the frequency of the references to his volumes in my notes.

It seemed to me, therefore, worth while to undertake a reconstruction of the life of Wykeham, from the vantage-ground gained by the additional knowledge of

the last hundred years. And having once undertaken it, my interest in and love for the subject of the Memoir, which I could not help feeling as a loyal Wykehamist, grew so intense that I was unable to leave it till it was finished. Finished therefore it now is, yet still so incomplete that I would gladly detain it for further revision, if I did not think it the better course to publish at once, and hope to benefit by the criticism of others, which can hardly fail, in spite of my earnest care to be exact, to point out many errors in my story. Such corrections, I need hardly say, I shall gladly welcome.

But first I must say a few words on the previous lives of Wykeham, and on the special authorities for this one.

The first two lives of Wykeham are what I publish in my Appendix (D and E) by the kind permission of the Governing Body of Winchester College. They never have been published before *in extenso*, though frequent reference has been made to their contents, by Lowth and others.

I. The first of them is supposed by Lowth, and seemingly with reason, to be by Dr. Thomas Aylward, one of Wykeham's executors, and to have been written soon after his death. It is found in a small quarto volume, which apparently belonged to Wykeham himself, containing notes as to the value of bishoprics and Churches. Warden Chaundler of Winchester¹ committed

¹ Lowth, p. xx.

it for safety to bishop Waynflete, Wykeham's next successor but one in the see of Winchester; thence it passed apparently into private hands. "On the second folio of the Index of this book are the words 'E libris P. Edge,' who probably compiled the Index; and on the last folio verso of the book is the name 'James Aston.' These are the names, I presume, of former owners of it, and in times much later than William of Wykeham."¹ How it got back to the college does not appear; for a note signed S. G. 1779 (Warden Samuel Gauntlett) saying that it was delivered to the college in 1419, refers apparently to another volume. It is an encomium on Wykeham, written in the turgid style usual at the time, but full of precious facts, and of small details which prove the author to have been an intimate personal friend of the subject of the biography. I refer to it as "MS. Aylward"; Lowth as "MS. Coll. Wint."

II. Next comes the "*Libellus seu tractatus de pro-sapia, vita, et gestis venerabilis patris et domini, domini Willelmi de Wykeham nuper episcopi Wynton.*" This is dated at the end A.D. 1424; and the contents prove that the author was a fellow either of Winchester or of New College: as he dedicates his work "*vobis, carissimi socii, qui communiter vivitis in collegiis beatæ Mariæ, per eundem patrem Oxoniæ et Wyntonix fundatis.*" Martin

¹ Quoted from MS. note on the reverse of the first flyleaf to the book, in the hand-writing of the late Rev. W. H. Gunner, sub-librarian of Winchester College.

refers to this work as written by a member of one of Wykeham's colleges, whose name he Latinizes as "Heresius." But Lowth says¹ "No one of that name was ever fellow of either of the colleges, if we may trust the registers. He probably means Robert Heete, who was admitted scholar of Winchester College in the year 1401, succeeded to New College in 1407, became fellow of Winchester College in 1420, and died in 1432."² The MS. is a work of greater pretension and length than MS. Aylward, and has long been the main authority for certain facts and dates in the life of Wykeham. I refer to it as "MS. Heath." It is bound into an old volume consisting of Miscellanea, on the flyleaf of which are written some genealogical notes of Wykeham's family. Lowth cites it as "Vetus Registrum." There is also a "Brevis Chronica de ortu, vita, et gestis nobilibus reverendi domini Willelmi de Wykeham," which is simply an excerpt from the above, printed, from a MS. at New College, by Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*, and there (wrongly) ascribed to Warden Chaundler.

These are literally all that we have of contemporary biographies: the rest are compilations from these, from the histories of the time, and from documents at Winchester. Such are the biographies by Axon, Harpsfield, and Martin. Martin's *Life of Wykeham* however (published posthumously 1597, and republished by Warden Nicholas,

¹ p. xv.

² So Lowth, *ib.* But in the Winchester College Register I find "Robert Heete, of Woodstock," said to have died on the "penult. die Feb. 6 Hen. 6," which would be 1428.

1690) merits a longer notice, as it at least appears to give facts outside the limited range of its authorities. But its facts are of a very doubtful order. What else can we say of a biography which puts into Wykeham's mouth elaborate answers to the charges made against him in 1376, and recounts a second arraignment of him on the same charges at the beginning of the new reign? We cannot after this accept as true any fact given on Martin's authority alone.

We come now to the compilation by Bishop Lowth, of which I use and quote the second edition, published in 1759. It is sufficient to say of this really great life of Wykeham that it was the first which was worthy of its subject, and that it holds the field still, and will continue to do so. The places where I have differed from it are few, and only those where the subsequent discovery of authorities has thrown fresh light upon the subject under discussion. An Appendix follows the volume, consisting of seventeen *pièces justificatives*, which are among the most important evidences, and which I have only ventured to supplement in my own Appendix.

Of more modern lives, two have been of use to me : (i) the chapter on the life of Wykeham at the beginning of Mackenzie Walcott's "Wykeham and his Colleges," published in 1853. He has compiled diligently from all sources, but his work is disfigured and rendered useless as a trustworthy authority by the utmost inaccuracy. I have hardly ever ventured to rely upon his statements unverified ; but I wish to acknowledge

my debt to him as a guide to original authorities. (ii) The first chapter of "Wykehamica" by my friend the Rev. H. C. Adams, published in 1878, which contains a spirited sketch of the life of Wykeham, and several new facts about him.

Thus much as to biographies: now as to other documents which help to fill in the biography.

1. Here the first place must be given to Wykeham's Episcopal Register, a first-rate authority in splendid preservation (described p. 88 of my text), now kept in the Cathedral at Winchester, but to which I have enjoyed unlimited access by the kindness of the Bishop of Winchester and the courtesy of his Registrar, C. Wooldridge, Esq.

2. The "Chronicon Angliæ," written by a monk of St. Alban's Abbey, edited in the Rolls series by Edward Edwards, Esq. In "Lowth's Preface," pp. xxiii-xxv, will be found the description of MS. Harl. 6217, which he took to be "a translation from the Latin of an earlier age" (p. xxiv). It was really the translation of a short fragment of this "Chronicon Angliæ," which is also the source of a great many details given by Walsingham, especially on the subject of Wykeham's disgrace. For an estimate of its value see p. 145 of the text. Two interesting English fragments, both of some authority, but apparently by authors who took opposite views of the events which they relate, are given in the Appendix to the Introduction of this volume.

3. "MS. Harl. 6960" in the British Museum contains excerpts from the patent rolls in the Tower by Dr. Hutton, which are invaluable as giving dates and facts bearing upon Wykeham's ante-episcopal preferments.

4. "MS. New Coll.," which I saw through the kindness of Warden Sewell, contains the whole history of the St. Cross litigation, and Wykeham's Injunctions to the Priory of St. Swithun, and Abbeys of Hyde, Merton, Romsey, Wherwell, and Southwark.

5. Of course, nothing historical can be done without frequent reference to the Parliamentary Rolls, to Rymer's "*Fœdera*," the Statutes at large, the "*Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium*," and Dugdale's "*Monasticon*." Besides them, I have gained great help from Sir Harris Nicolas' "*Proceedings of the Privy Council*," and Shirley's "*Fasciculi Zizaniorum*"; and for antiquarian notices of Winchester and its neighbourhood I am greatly indebted to the 1845 volume of the "*Proceedings of the Archæological Institute*," and to Woodward's "*History of Hampshire*." I have already acknowledged my indebtedness to Bishop Stubbs' "*Constitutional History*."

Nothing has given me greater trouble than the orthography of names, whether of persons or places. In the end I have decided to give the names of places according to the received modern spelling, and such names of persons as are also the names of places (and they are the greater number of personal names) according to the received modern spelling of the place-names. But one notable

exception I have made to this rule. I have left the name of my hero, Wykeham, in the well-known spelling which was usually his own, and not modernized it according to the spelling of the place-name, Wickham, as I have in other instances. It seemed to me that though my rule was good to ensure the uniformity of the spelling of other names, that of this name could hardly be disturbed without a sort of profanation. Yet of course this name is spelt all sorts of ways in the original documents—Wykeham, Wicham, Wykkam, Wikehame, etc.—and Frenchified into Wican by Froissart.

There are two autograph letters of Wykeham's in the British Museum, to be found among the Additional Charters, numbered 15,421, 15,422. There are no dates in them beyond those of the month and day: but I should guess 15,422 to be the earliest. It is dated from Canterbury, 3rd June [1363?], and is written on the queen's behalf to some unknown person, taking the part of Harmesthorpe, her Secretary [see p. 45 *n*] in a dispute about preferment with Walter Skirlaw, afterwards bishop of Durham. 15,451 is dated from Westminster, 30th October [1364-6], and is written under the king's Privy Seal to the Governor of Calais, ordering the transfer of the hostages at Calais into England. There is also an autograph letter in the possession of the Warden of New College, upon which see note below.

Into the controversy as to Wykeham's pretended nobility of birth I have not entered in the text further than to indicate my own opinion upon it. But I have gone into the question in Appendix A.

It remains to thank the Wardens of Winchester and New College for their kindness in furthering my researches, and T. F. Kirby, Esq., the Bursar of Winchester College, for the facilities of copying the two MS. lives of Wykeham which he has given me.

I have not attempted to estimate Wykeham's character further than by a few words at the end. This I have done of purpose, believing that he was one of those humble souls whose characters are but to be gathered from their works. He was one of those to whom the opportunity was granted of doing a really great work for future generations. That opportunity he used, how well his colleges testify. His work, therefore, is his best encomium ; we may use his own words, and say "Operibus credite," or—in its true and best sense—

"MANNERS MAKYTH MAN."

SWANAGE,

February 24th, 1887.

NOTE UPON THE FRONTISPIECE.

THE kindness of Warden Sewell enables me to publish in *facsimile* an autograph letter of William of Wykeham, with which I have become acquainted too late for incorporation with my narrative. It was bought by New College at a sale of Sir E. Dering, February 7th, 1863.

It is a hasty letter, written just before his departure from Sheen, to John lord Cobham, the same who afterwards was a colleague on the commission of regency which drew down the vengeance of Richard II. It tells Cobham that he need not go or send to Paris, as had no doubt been arranged; for Wykeham has agreed with Simon Bochel to send messengers to meet the pope wherever he may be found, and to pay him the sum of which lord Cobham knows.

The following is the text of the letter :—

“Trescher sire, Veulliez savoir que yce dymenge ie envoiay par Caval le vallet Symond Bochel, qui vint a moi a Shene ou ie lui parlay de l'eschange dont vous savez; et yce Lundy il envoit un vallet dens Parys, et lui ad charge qu'il y soit ove toute la haste qu'il purra, pour la dite cause; et le dit Symond ou Bartholomeu Spifanie son pierre envoierent dens leur compaignons quel part que la pope sera de vous faire prestement paier la somme dont estait parle entre nous; issint qu'il non busoigne mic que vous aillez ne envoiez dens Parys pour celle cause, car seurement vous trouverez le dit paiement devant vous en les mains de ditz compaignons quel lieu que le pape sera trouve. Trescher sire, Lui seint esprit vous veulle garder en sanitee.

"Escri a Shene en grande haste yce Lundy, sur mon departir.

WILLIAM DE WIKEHAME.

"A mon trescher amy Johan Seigneur de Cobehame."

We can probably identify the very day on which this was written. In Rymer there is a commission given to lord Cobham to take an extension of leave to the duke of Bourbon, who was a prisoner on parole, dated Sunday, 20th of December, 1366. On the same day, it seems, Wykeham had a visit from Caval Paff,¹ a trusted servant of Simon Bochel ; and agreed with his master to send a certain sum in bills of exchange to the pope, who they expected would by this time have set off from Avignon to Rome. The next day Wykeham, in haste, because he is on the point of departure from Sheen, writes a private letter to Cobham, telling him not to go to Paris, for his business is being done by other hands. This it is which has happened to survive ; and if this account of it be true, its date is Monday, 21st of December, 1366.

The stamp on the outside cover of the book is taken from the painted window in Bradford Peverell Church, near Dorchester, described in note 2 to p. 288.

¹ It was "Kaval Paff, attourne Simon Bochel, marchand de Lak," who paid 10,000 crowns, the first instalment of the duke of Bourbon's ransom, to king Edward. See note on p. 61.

DIRECTIONS TO BINDER.

Facsimile of Autograph Letter -	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
Map of Winchester -	-	-	-	-	-	-	to face p. 233.
Pedigree of Wykeham -	-	-	-	-	-	-	" 272.

CHAPTER I.

WYKEHAM'S YOUTH.

A.D. 1324—1347.

THE fourteenth century—with the latter half of which this biography will be mainly concerned—was a time of great, though silent, social changes: changes which prepared the way for those sudden and startling revolutions which amazed Western Europe in the next two centuries.

Character of
the 14th
century.

The feudal system, which (at least in England) had always been more complete in theory than in practice, was losing its influence. National wars had strained it to its utmost; and now the customs of the new chivalry were giving it its death blow. For the feudal system had aimed at centralization; chivalry was a individualizing force, where each man was independent of his neighbours. Classes soon fell apart, when no longer united by the grasp of a social code. It came to be no longer a matter of course that the tenant should be the follower of his lord, and the villein the follower of the tenant.

Growth of
social equality.

And villenage itself was decaying. By direct manumission, by greater freedom of travel, by permission to merge their tenure into copyhold, the number of villeins throughout England had perceptibly decreased. And this too was the time when the greatest spring was made towards general knowledge. Not a hundred years had passed since Western Europe had been flooded with sectaries who, sprung from the lowest depths of the people, presumed to doubt the doctrines authoritatively delivered

and of
knowledge.

to them by the Church. The lower orders—or the most forward individuals among them—had begun to think for themselves. A wave of republicanism swept over the countries. The rising of the Jacquerie in France, that of the Whitehoods in Flanders under the Artaveldts, were followed at no long interval by the revolts in England under Tyler and Cade. And these class dissensions were made the more deadly by the fact of religious disunion; which disunion first took shape within the lifetime of the man whose life we are now to study, in the popular adhesion to the doctrines of Wiclif.

The Church,
the bridge be-
tween classes.

A certain degree of approximation between the different classes of society is now observable; and it was the Church which formed the readiest bridge between them. The great class of what would in Saxon times have been called *eorls* was nearly—too nearly for the health of society—a self-contained class. Barons, knights, and esquires: these formed the class of what we should call gentlemen. That it should be recruited from the class of the *churls* by fortune of war was comparatively rare. But it was from the upper ranks of the churls that the Church was fed; and churchmen who rose to name and fame hardly ever failed to found a family, though they had no heirs of their body to inherit their property. So much was this the case, that Holinshed says that “it was the fashion in those days from a learned spiritual man to take away the father’s surname (were it never so worshipful), and give him for it the name of the town he was born in,”—as if he were founding a new family. In Wykeham’s case “the father’s surname” has been a matter of much controversy; but at least the place of his birth is undisputed. He was born at the village of Wickham in South Hants.¹

¹ Aylward, 1; Heath, 1.

Wickham¹ is a village now tenanted by more than a thousand inhabitants, lying halfway between Fareham on the south and Bishop's Waltham on the north, three miles and a half from them both. It lies itself in a thin bed of sand and clay, which makes it prolific of oakwood and very picturesque; but within a mile to the northward stretch the chalk downs, the most characteristic feature of Hampshire scenery, while at the same distance to the south rises Portsdown, an isolated ridge of chalk, intercepting the view of Portsmouth Harbour and the sea beyond. Wickham itself is on a small stream called the Aire, the same which waters the Meons higher up its course, before it has left the chalk; and it is about a mile south-east of the tidal stream known as the Hamble.

Wykeham's
birthplace,

About three miles from Wickham is Southwick Priory. Henry I had founded this priory for Augustinian canons at Porchester, close to the castle; but owing to the encroachments of the sea, it had been removed to Southwick in the time of Henry II.² In 1322—two years before Wykeham's birth—one Edmund Sutton, a person of some local distinction, left part of his manor of Sutton Scotney, near Micheldever, for the use of Southwick Priory, by means of an alienation to Walter Barton, the rector of Wickham.³ In this Priory, thus belonging to his native place, it was that Wykeham afterwards endowed a chantry of five priests to pray for the souls of his parents.⁴

His parents' Christian names were John and Sibill. and parents :
John is called "Long" by an anonymous writer in the

¹ Wickham is among the commonest of dissyllabic local names in England, being compounded of the two Saxon words, "wic" a creek, and "ham" a home. The "creek" is sometimes the creek of a river; in this case it is doubtless the creek of the sea formed by the Hamble.

² The prior of Wykeham's youth was a John Gloucester, who ruled from 1334 to 1349, when he was succeeded by Richard Bramdean.

³ Woodward's *History of Hampshire*, vol. ii, p. 226. ⁴ Aylward, 6.

same volume in which Heath's *Life of Wykeham* is found.¹ We may suspect, from the fact that Wykeham himself was a tall man,² that this was a nickname given to him because of his unusual stature ; especially if we are to believe an equally anonymous annotator of a New College MS., of seemingly later date, who says that "his grandfather's name was Wykeham." This however may mean nothing but that his grandfather was a native of the same village Wickham. But we find, on the same authority, that a brother of John Long's called himself by the name of Henry "Aas," a name also written As, Ays, Ace. Here we seem to have come to a family name of some standing:³ for Aas is neither the name of a place (like most of the middle-class surnames in England at that day) nor that of a trade, nor is it derivable from any Christian name ; it apparently is a Dutch name,⁴ and probably belonged to a family who originally had been Frisian settlers, as many of the south country families had been.

his mother
well-born,

His mother Sibill is accredited with noble descent. She was grand-daughter of a certain Amice, daughter of the lord of Stratton,⁵ who herself married a William Stratton, and had three sons and three daughters, Alice, Gillian, and Eleanor. Alice married William Bowade, and was the mother of Sibill, the wife of John Long.⁶

¹ MS. at beginning of *Vetus Registrum*.

² "Erat enim is excelsi corporis statura decoratus."—Martin, p 21.

³ Richard Ace was a burgess of Southampton ; his son, John Ace, was rector of Brown Candover in 1337. An Ase de Ludlow was king's bailiff at Southampton in 1331. A John Fitz-Aas was lord of a manor at Basingstoke early in Henry III's reign.

⁴ "Aas" in Dutch is said to mean "body," either living or dead. For other Frisian names compare Hoesse, Husec (=Hussey), a house, and the Wiltshire "Huish."

⁵ "Stratton juxta Selborne,"—MS. in V. R. This must be East Stratton, near Micheldever. I suspect that this singular description of it indicates that the author writes from Selborne ; perhaps was a monk at the Priory.

⁶ Martin (p. 130) says that John Long lived to be upwards of eighty, and that Dame Alice was blind before her death, and was visited every day by Wykeham, probably from Bishop's Waltham. But Martin is a poor authority for matters of fact.

Though his mother had gentle blood in her veins, yet she and her husband were both poor.¹ In fact the "gentle" Sibill had allied herself with an upright and honourable man, but one of the middle class, or class of yeomen.

his father of the middle class.

All the names in Wykeham's genealogy would lead us to this conclusion. Of the twenty-three surnames mentioned in the pedigree, fifteen, including Wykeham itself, are the names of English places, while only two are French in their origin. This of itself is an indication of the rank in society which the family was entitled to hold.² But it is to be observed that all the fifteen local names are substantial names of places for the most part known, and belonging to the south of England; there are none of the names of plebeian rank, such as were common at this time in every manor in England,—Brook, Lane, Hall, Field, Wood, etc..

Wykeham was born in 1324; which year is determined from that of his death, when he is said to have been eighty full years old.³ He died September 27th, 1404; and consequently his birth must have taken place before September 27th, 1324. He is further said to have been born in the eighteenth year of the reign of Edward II, which reign began on July 8th, 1307. Consequently we shall not be wrong in dating his birth in the year 1324, and between July 8th and September 27th.

Wykeham's birth, 1324.

His early years were apparently spent at Wickham: we have absolutely no notice of them.⁴ We may probably infer that his earliest benefactor was a Sir Ralph Sutton,⁵

His early benefactors.

¹ Parentes vero ejus licet honesti generis opibus tamen non affluiebant.—Heath ii.

² See the question discussed at length in Appendix A.

³ "Octogenarius complete."—Heath, 14.

⁴ It is said by Stow in his *Chronicles* that "one Maistre Wodale of Wickham brought up William of Wickham at school." This is probably only a confusion, the result of the fact of the later connexion of the Uvedales with Wickham.

⁵ This I gather from the fact that at Winchester and New College Wykeham ordered seven daily masses to be said in the Chapels, one of which was "specially" for the soul of Sir Ralph Sutton, while the next was equally "specially" for the souls of Sir John Scures and Thomas Foxley.—*Statutes*, New College, § 42; Winchester, § 29.

the Priory
school at
Winchester,

who is otherwise unknown: he may possibly have been one of the Suttons of Sutton Scotney, who as we have already seen had endowed Southwick Priory not long before. His next benefactor appears to have been Sir John Scures, the lord of the manor of Wickham, and Sheriff of Hampshire; who, finding him a sharp lad, put him to school at Winchester at his own cost.¹ Martin says that he sent him with his own sons, and those of other gentlemen, to a learned Frenchman to learn grammar.²

It is thus possible that Sir John Scures only selected for Wykeham and his youthful companions what we should call a private tutor of eminence. But it is more probable that he paid for the boy's tuition at the school belonging to the Priory of St. Swithun, which was called the High School, or the Great Grammar School.

This School had been famous since the beginning of the ninth century; its teachers had been well chosen, and it had educated famous men. It stood³ to the west of the

¹ Not Sir Nicholas Uvedale, to whom this patronage of Wykeham is attributed by Martin, and everyone since. See "Notes of the Family of Uvedale," by Granville Leveson-Gower, in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, iii, p. 74:—"I have discarded as unworthy of credit the story related by Hutchins and others of his [Sir Peter Uvedale's] having been the first and great benefactor of William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester, and having introduced him to Sir Nicholas Uvedale, the constable of Winchester Castle, by whom he was made known to King Edward III. In the first place, I cannot find that any Sir N. Uvedale was ever constable of Winchester Castle, though I have somewhere seen that one of that name was constable of Windsor Castle; and secondly, the Uvedales were not connected with Wickham in Hants, from which place William of Wickham is supposed to have come, until the marriage of John Uvedale in 1381 with the heiress of Scures, the ancient lords of the manor of Wickham." I cannot find the name of Nicholas Uvedale till the first half of the sixteenth century, when a person so named was Headmaster of Eton and afterwards of Westminster. He died in 1557, and Martin's life was published in 1597. Martin therefore probably made a double confusion. He thought that the lords of the manor of Wickham had been Uvedales, as they were in his time (and till 1662); and he attributed to this particular Uvedale the name of Nicholas, the most famous name in the family of the generation before he wrote.

² Martin, p. 17; compare Heath, 2.

³ The words of Aylward, "in loco illo quo literarum studium Wynton frequentare et hospitari consueverat," have misled Lowth (p. 196) into thinking that the school was on the actual spot where he afterwards built the College. But Aylward's words need not mean this; he is only contrasting Winchester with Oxford, and giving Wykeham's reasons for fixing upon these two cities for his colleges—Winchester, because of his early education there; Oxford, because of the University.—Aylw. 3.

Cathedral, outside the Close wall, a little to the south of the Minster Gate: that is about halfway up the street then called Minster Street, but now known as Symonds' Street.¹ Bishop Henry de Blois had directed that a daily allowance of food should be given to thirteen poor scholars of the Great Grammar School from his newly founded Hospital of St. Cross.²

Here he is said to have studied grammar.³ Grammar to study grammar. was an elastic word at that time; and Martin says that he was not content with this, but learnt too geometry, French, arithmetic, and dialectic,—a complete secular education for those days.⁴ This is much the same course recommended by those who called themselves "Brothers of the Mystery of Masonry," or Freemasons. Their course embraced seven sciences: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy. But of these they insisted most on geometry, "the science of which is called Masonry." Whatever may have been Wykeham's progress in his other studies, he appears from the results to have been altogether captivated by this. We do not know who were his teachers, nor how far they were initiated, or capable of initiating him, into the secret lore of architecture. But such lore certainly existed, and was taught to successive generations by word of mouth, and not written down for vulgar use. It was Wykeham's special addiction to this fascinating art which made his fortune.

That in addition to his school life at Winchester Wykeham ever studied at Oxford, is the invention of his Never at Oxford.

¹ Woodward's *History of Hants*, i, p. 200, notes that it is "now the garden of C. M. Deane, Esq."

² "Each of them had a loaf of coarse bread of five marks' weight, three quarts of small beer, a sufficient quantity of soup or a mess of pulse, one herring or two pilchards, or two eggs, or one farthing's worth of cheese."—Lowth, p. 77.

³ "Grammaticis imbuendum."—Martin, p. 17.

⁴ "Literis secularibus parvulus primitivis scientiis traditur imbuendus."—Heath, 2.

later biographers. The story is given circumstantially by Martin, who even gives the names of his tutors in the different arts. But his earlier biographers know nothing of it. Chaundler says of him that he never occupied himself with speculative philosophy, but that his knowledge lay in practical matters: he never went through the schools of Art, or Theology, or Civil or Canon Law. And this is tantamount to saying that he never studied at Oxford. For Oxford was wholly given up at this time to the study of speculative philosophy, a philosophy which it required the talent of a Thomas Aquinas or a Duns Scotus to render profitable. The last generation had seen a revival of what was called Nominalism in Oxford. Till now the great Schoolmen had all been Realists, or had believed in the real existence of universal ideas. But now William Ockham had revived the Nominalist theory, that such ideas were nothing but names useful for the classification of individual objects. This was not only an unpopular system in philosophy, it was also accounted a heresy in religion: for the Transubstantiation of the elements in the Eucharist was an idea wholly due to the Realist philosophy: and the Ockhamites and Scotists proceeded to most unphilosophical lengths in their fury against each other. Lowth¹ argues that Wykeham sustained no loss by not having been steeped in such disputations in his youth.

It is difficult to prove a negative, but it is at least clear that Wykeham, if he ever was at Oxford, did not proceed to his Master's degree. To be entitled to be addressed as "Magister" was an honourable distinction, and one that contemporaries never forgot to bestow. But we never find him called "Master William of Wykeham" during his antepiscopal career, but always "Sir William of Wykeham." The addition of "Dominus," or "Sir," was not nearly

¹ Lowth, p. 16.

so honourable as that of "Magister," or "Master":¹ so amusingly opposed were the ideas then current to those of the present day.

What, then, was the next stage in Wykeham's career after he had passed through his school-days? Sir John Scures, his patron, took him to Winchester Castle, and made him his Secretary.² He is said to have excelled in neatness of writing, as well as in eloquence of speaking.³ And his architectural acquirements must have been of great use. As Sheriff of Hampshire, Sir John was Constable or Governor of Winchester Castle, and had the other castles of the county under his charge. These must have needed occasional repair, and hence it is scarcely a conjecture that the first essay of young Wykeham must thus have been made in military architecture. We do not know the precise date of his taking service with Sir John.⁴ It could hardly have been as early as 1338, by which year he would have been fourteen years old. This was the year of the declaration of war with France, when the resources of the countries on the south coast was strained to the utmost. Already the year before Portsmouth had been burned by a French fleet, in spite of the vicinity of Porchester Castle; and again, in the autumn of this year, Southampton was attacked and its inhabitants massacred by the French.⁵ Southampton was avenged next day by a rising of the men of Hants and Sussex, who chased the French from the coast; and Sir

Secretary to Sir
John Scures.

¹ "Such priests as have the addition of 'Sir' before their Christian names were men not graduated in the University, being in Orders, but not in Degrees; whilst others, entitled 'Masters,' had commenced in the arts."—Fuller's *Church History*, Bk. VI, § v, 10.

² "Unde vice tabellionis cuidam armigero constabulario scilicet castri Wintoniensis adærebat."—Heath, 2.

³ "Nemo illâ ætate scripsit limatius, nemo locutus est ornatius."—Martin, p. 20.

⁴ Martin (p. 20) gives it as three years before he became Secretary to Edingdon. This would point to 1343 at the earliest; but probably this is but rhetorical. A more reliable date, though a vaguer one, is given by Heath: "postquam animi maturitatem adisset."

⁵ Froissart, i. 37; Woodward's *History of Hampshire*, ii, p. 233.

John Scures, the Sheriff, at once (in 1338) set about the repairing of Porchester Castle, and put it in a thorough state of readiness for defence, acting therein for the Constable of the Castle, Richard Earl of Arundel,¹ who was with the King in Flanders. But the country was reduced to great poverty, owing to the French raids upon Southampton and Portsmouth.²

sequents the
"Pekismass"
the
thedral.

Only one habit of Wykeham's during these years is specified, but that not without its bearing on the future calling to which his life was to be dedicated. He is said³ at this time to have been in the habit of frequenting the Cathedral, and hearing mass therein; and especially we are told of his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, whose image stood against a column half way down the nave on its south side. Before this he used to kneel every morning, and listen to the mass said by one Richard Pekis, one of the brethren of St. Swithun's priory, which evidently was a popular service, as it is said to have been "vulgarly called Pekismass."⁴

In 1340, Sir John Scures ceased to be Sheriff of Hants,⁵ and was succeeded by Sir Robert Daundely. Young Wykeham does not appear to have been shifted too, but to have kept his position at the Castle. He seems to have been at work there till 1346, when the King's treasurer, William Edington, was consecrated to the bishopric⁶ instead of the blind old Bishop Orlton. Wykeham, who, probably, by this time had become well-known in Win-

¹ Hartshorne's *Porchester Castle*, p. 41, in "*Proceedings of Archaeological Institute*," Winchester volume, 1845.

² Woodward, ii, p. 234.

³ Aylward, 5; Heath, 2.

⁴ Aylward, 5.—Pekis' name occurs as an acolyte in an extant list of the brethren of St. Swithun's, dated 1325.

⁵ Woodward, ii, p. 74, n.—This year was passed a statute directing the annual appointment of sheriffs. This would naturally be followed by the resignation of all the existing sheriffs. Sir John Scures had been Sheriff of Hampshire since 1321.

⁶ On February 21st.

chester as a youth of some capacity, was singled out for employment by Bishop Edingdon.¹

Employed by
Bp. Edingdon,

Whoever introduced him to Edingdon, Edingdon soon introduced him to royalty itself. King Edward had set sail from Southampton with more than 30,000 English in the July of 1346. He had gained the battle of Creci in August, and had formed the siege of Calais immediately after. The city surrendered, after a twelve months' siege, in August, 1347; the King, expelling the French inhabitants who refused an oath of allegiance to himself, came to England with the intention of bringing English burghers to replace them. He landed with his Queen at Sandwich on the 12th of October, after having been met on his return voyage by a violent storm which destroyed many ships and men.² Instead of going at once to London, they visited Porchester, Southampton, and Winchester Castles. At the last of them he met young Wykeham, and was pleased with his look. Hearing a good report of him from his old favourite Bishop Edingdon, he brought him to Windsor and gave him employment there.³

and by him
introduced to
the king,

who transfers
him to
Windsor

The general purpose of Edingdon's recommendation is plain: for Wykeham was a rising architect, and the king was seeking for such men everywhere, having magnificent architectural designs afoot, as will be detailed in the next chapter. It may therefore be taken for granted that it was Wykeham's early promise in this particular art which recommended him to the king.

as a rising
architect, 1347.

¹ Daundely, or his successor as Constable of Winchester Castle, may have made the introduction. Lowth reports (p. 14) a story that Uvedale had done it, but see note on p. 6.

² The *Chronicon Angliæ* (extracts from which are given in continuation of a copy of Higden, presented to Winchester College by Wykeham himself) relates quaintly the king's disgust. "Unde beatæ Virgini conquestus est dicens, O beata Maria, domina mea, quid est et quid portendit, quod tendendo usque Franciam aura grata potior, aridet mare, et cuncta mihi prospera eveniunt; sed in redeundo usque Angliam infortunia nimis adversa mihi succedunt." I have given the quotation according to the Winchester MS.

³ Harpsfield cit. Martin, p. 21.

The king's visit to Winchester was in October, 1347. He apparently stayed in England, residing chiefly at Windsor, till December, 1348, when he again crossed the Channel to defend Dover against a treacherous attack made by the French in spite of the truce. Between these two limits therefore we must place Wykeham's permanent transference from Winchester to Windsor. Thus there is no reason to distrust Martin's account,¹ who tells us that the king took him with him to Windsor after staying for a short time at Winchester; nor Heath's,² who dates the change of residence when Wykeham was twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, which might well be in the autumn of 1347. He was not to return to Winchester until he came to it as Bishop Edingdon's successor, just twenty years later.

¹ Martin, p. 21, "*Wintoniā pauco post Windesoriā rex petit: eum Wicamus comitatur.*"

² "*Biennio vel triennio elapso post annum scilicet ætatis suæ vicesimum translatus est in curiam Domini regis.*"—Heath, 3. He would have been twenty-three in the summer of 1347.

CHAPTER II.

WYKEHAM IN SECULAR OFFICES.

A.D. 1348—1368.

WHEN Wykeham was brought to Windsor at the end of 1347, the king was intent on the execution of a scheme which had occupied his mind for some years—the establishment of the Order of the Garter.

Order of the
Garter pro-
jected by the
king,

Edward the Third's reign had begun beneath a cloud ; but the cloud had soon passed away, and the sun had shone brilliantly ever since. He was just fourteen years of age when he had been put on the throne by his mother Isabella and her paramour Mortimer on his father's deposition. Exactly a year later he had married Philippa, daughter of William, count of Hainault. He married her, says Froissart, out of love to her father ; that she proved a worthy consort to him is shewn by the fact that the good fortune of his reign was so remarkably coincident with Philippa's life. After her death the cloud of misfortune in which his reign had begun again settled heavily upon him.

No epithet so truly describes him during the early portion of his reign as "magnificent." He was young, handsome, and daring. He made successful wars both on Scotland and France. He was romantic, and like the Arthur of old British romance he surrounded himself with brave knights. It was the age of chivalrous daring ; an age which often sacrificed the real advantages of military organization to the acquisition of renown by individuals. Especially was this the case when the King of England

was in the field ; and the fashion set by the king was imitated down to the lowest of his knights. War—even a national war like that of England with France—was regarded more as a theatre on which to display feats of knightly courtesy and prowess than as in serious earnest. And this theatrical war had an appropriate chronicler in the person of the *Sieur Jehan de Froissart*. Froissart was a Frenchman, but he writes with no antipathy of nation ; he was as much at home in the English court as he was in the French. But wherever he can hear of a brave and knightly deed of arms, he delights to record it ; and his chronicle is in consequence a repertory of individual deeds of chivalry, rather than a trustworthy and well-digested history of the time in question.

And Edward was a magnificent king also in other respects. He was a patron of literature, as is shewn by his fostering care bestowed upon Chaucer and Froissart. He was a patron of art ; and impressed from all the counties of England painters and sculptors to decorate his court. Especially he delighted in building ; his palaces were one after another rebuilt, and his castles put into a state of defence. For the first thirty years of his reign he was building the chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster ; for Windsor he had a more comprehensive design.

Windsor was his birthplace, and already the fairest of his castles. It had been chosen as a royal residence by William the Conqueror, and rebuilt by his son Henry I ; but Edward was not content with it as he found it. The conception which he had in his mind seems to have been to rival the glories of king Arthur with his Round Table of famous Knights. He would found an Order to reward individual merit in warlike deeds ; and Windsor should be to his new Order what Winchester was said to have been to Arthur's Knights. This idea fell in exactly with the

and "Round
table" built
it at
Windsor,
144-47.

taste of the age, which, as before observed, exaggerated the regard paid to feats of individual prowess in the field. And it also had a political end in view. It was the age of mercenary warriors, or (as they called themselves) free lances, attaching themselves to first one banner and then another, for pay. In Italy especially, this system of *condottieri*, as they were there called, grew to the proportions of a national scourge. If Edward could attach the leaders of such companies to himself by admitting them into an Order of Knighthood, they would not so readily pass to the service of another leader. Thus arose the Order of the Garter; and the resources of the kingdom were taxed to provide for it a worthy home at Windsor. To the east of the royal apartments Edward designed to add what should be called the Round Table, in memory of king Arthur—a huge circular keep, a hundred feet in diameter, surrounded by an outwork fifty feet distant from its boundary wall, in all making the building two hundred feet from side to side. This keep was probably begun in 1344, for in that year the Exchequer records begin to show that extraordinary works were undertaken at Windsor.¹ Sums are paid out that year to make the bridges strong enough to bear the weight of materials for building the Round Table; and for many years after this the sums expended continue in the same proportion. Walsingham states that they were at first £100 per week, *i.e.*, £1500 of present money; but that this expenditure, owing to the heavy drain upon the king of his French war, was afterwards cut down to £20 per week, which now would be equivalent to £300.

The Round Table, as it was called, was probably finished by the time the king returned from Calais, in October, 1347;

¹ See too *Chr. Angl.*, p. 17, which dates it 1344.

Order of the
Garter estab-
lished, 1348-50.

and then for the first time his conception of the Order of the Garter is put into execution. The accounts of his Great Wardrobe, lately published, show exactly at this time a new device. "After this,¹ and in the next year, we meet with entries, of a streamer powdered with blue garters; of a cloak, tunic, hood, and two jupons for the king, all powdered with garters; of a bed for the king, powdered with garters, having this motto, '*Honi soit qui mal y pense*,'² of twelve blue garters embroidered with silver and gold, and having the same motto. . . . Here we have in 1348 all the elements required for the constitution of the Order. It already existed, at least in an inchoate state. In 1350—we have no documents for the intermediate year—it had been fully established; for we then find the king, in company with the Knights of the Order, keeping the Feast of St. George at Windsor, on April 23rd."

First plague,
1349.

Meanwhile England was overshadowed by the first visitation of the Black Death. This terrible scourge, which we can trace in its progress from Eastern Asia westward to Europe, at last, after slaying its thousands on the continent, visited England with incredible severity. It began at Southampton, it carried off half Winchester, it more than decimated London; all the towns suffered in proportion, the cattle in the country caught the infection and died. Nine-tenths of the clergy are said to have fallen victims to it. If this be true, the lower clergy must have suffered out of proportion to the bishops, of whom only two died during the months of its ravages.

This severe visitation may well have turned young Wykeham's mind to more serious thoughts than those of building castles; and it is in 1349 that we first have docu-

¹ Lingard, iii, p. 205, *n*.

² This motto was taken from an incident which happened (according to the popular story) in August, 1342.—*Froissart*, i, 89.

mentary evidence of his having assumed the first tonsure. It is true that he probably had undergone this first tonsure earlier. He may very probably have been tonsured while at the Priory School at Winchester. His statutes for his own foundation at Winchester insist that every scholar shall receive the first tonsure at the age of sixteen. It took therefore very much the same place which Confirmation takes at the schools of the present day, and was far from committing all its recipients to a clerical career.

Wykeham
tonsured ear

The requirements for the first tonsure were not high. None were to receive it who had not been confirmed, and who had not learnt the rudiments of the Faith, as well as to read and to write ; nor any, of whom there was reason to doubt whether they had chosen this kind of life to avoid judgments in secular courts rather than to yield a faithful worship to God.

Nevertheless, this first tonsure made a man a clerk ; and though it was possible that he might never even intend to proceed to Orders, either Minor or Sacred, still this was the rite to be undergone by all who did aspire to those Orders. But in Wykeham's case, probably, there was something besides this. Probably he had made known his intention of proceeding, in time, to the higher Orders ; in fact, was under promise so to proceed. We cannot help connecting this intention with what we have already heard of his devotion to the Blessed Virgin in Winchester Minster. It is obvious that had he chosen a lay life, all the honours which the king's favour could bestow lay before him. But he has chosen a clerical life, and from the first his choice is recognized and acknowledged : all the more readily, perhaps, because it enabled the king to provide with church benefices for a man whom it soon became difficult otherwise to pay, adequately to the magnitude and multiplicity of the secular work which he expected him to undertake.

King's chaplain, and rector of Irstead, 1349.

Thus the rectory of Irstead, near Ludham, in the diocese of Norwich, and county of Norfolk, fell vacant in 1349. It was in the gift of the rich abbey of St. Benedict of Hulme; the abbot Robert Aylsham, who should have presented, died also July 4th. The king did not give his assent to the appointment¹ of another abbot for six weeks (till August 20th); and the new abbot, William Hatch, was not fully instituted for another period of six weeks (till September 25th). But meanwhile the king by letters patent directs, within a week of abbot Aylsham's death (July 12th), that "his Chaplain William de Wykham"² should be presented to the Church at Irstead. It is the king's thus calling him his Chaplain which seems to prove that he was at least in the first tonsure.

This was a benefice with cure of souls. By the Canons, no doubt, the admission of any but a priest to a cure of souls was irregular. But it was done quite commonly at this time in England. And here the Popes had set a bad example. Their dispensations over-rode the Canons, and authorized the presentation even of persons not in their first tonsure. Bishops had followed their example, and, if they had not gone so far as this, had presented persons not yet in priests' Orders; often under the pressure of patrons, whose rights, as representing the family which originally endowed the benefice, were felt then to be equitably stronger than now, and to amount to an actual claim on the endowments. And so it was not at all an unheard-of thing for king Edward to present to a living, of which he had the gift for this turn, the young architect, who was only in the first tonsure, whose name had, probably, not at this time been heard of beyond Windsor, and who had no intention of leaving Windsor to reside at Irstead.)

¹ *Monasticon*, iii, p. 65.

² Walcott, p. 9 (citing MS. Harl. 6959, f. 27).

Meanwhile, he was busy with secular matters. In 1350, the king made him guardian of the manor of Rochford in Hampshire, until the heir of Sir William Botreaux should come of age.¹ Rochford lies on the left bank of the Hampshire Avon, half way between Fordingbridge and Ringwood; and young William Botreaux was in 1350 thirteen years of age, so that the land must have been for eight years in Wykeham's guardianship. Henry Sturmy of Elvecham appointed him his attorney to deliver seisin of certain lands to Bishop Edingdon of Winchester, on October 12th, 1352; who again appointed him two months after, December 10th, to receive seisin for him.²

Secular
employment:

In the meantime, the king had begun in 1350 to convert the ancient "Domus regis," to the west of the new keep at Windsor, into a College for the accommodation of his new Order of the Garter.³ This was the work for which, in Ashmole's words, "he appointed several Surveyors, whom he assigned to press hewers of stone, carpenters, and such other artificers as were thought useful and necessary; and also to provide stone, timber, and other materials, and carriages for them. Among these Surveyors, we find remembered John Peyntour, Richard de Rochelle, William de Hurle, William de Herland, Robert de Bernham, and some others."⁴

Young Wykeham was in the course of time to have a place among these Surveyors: but not yet. The king probably employed him in subordinate offices at first. On the 10th of May, 1356, the king appointed him by letters patent, for his faithfulness and circumspection, clerk of all his works on the manors of Henley and Easthampstead, where he seems, from the terms employed, to have been carrying on extensive operations.⁵

¹ Abbrev. Rot. Origin., ii, p. 209.

² Lowth, p. 14 π.

³ Cockerell, p. 3.

⁴ Ashmole, p. 135.

⁵ MS. Harl. 6960, f. 28 b.

On the 20th of August, the same year, he paid £2. 11s. for the keep of the king's eight dogs at Windsor;¹ and in 1357, power to sell all the king's draught horses in Windsor Forest, except twelve of the best, was committed to him and two others.²

Surveyor of
Works at
Windsor
Castle, 1356

On the 30th of October, 1356, he was appointed as Surveyor of the works at Windsor Castle, and like powers given him with the other Surveyors, with a salary of one shilling a day while he stayed at Windsor, two when he travelled on business, and three shillings a week for his clerk;³ and on receiving this appointment, he surrendered what he had before held—the custody of the land at Eton, Old and New Windsor, and several other manors.⁴

On November 14th, 1357, the king gave him by letters patent, "for his good service already paid to us and hereafter to be paid," a shilling a day from the exchequer besides his wages, "until the said William be peacefully promoted by us in some competent ecclesiastical benefice."⁵ So glaringly did Edward use the wealth of the Church to enable him to pay secular services. But this gift opens up a long story of papal resistance to the preferments which were showered upon him, which shall be detailed in the next chapter. For the present we will confine ourselves to secular matters, and look at Wykeham in the four capacities of a land agent, an architect, a judge, and a minister of the crown.

He must now, as one of the Surveyors employed at Windsor Castle, have made the acquaintance, if he had not before done so, of Thomas Foxley. Thomas Foxley, of Bramsell, or Bramshill, in North Hampshire, had been con-

¹ Walcott, p. 13.

² "Omnia jumenta et equitium regis."—*Abbrev. Rot. Origin.*, ii, p. 244.

³ Ashmole, p. 135.

⁴ Walcott, p. 12.

⁵ MS. Harl. 6960, f. 35.

tent to reside at Windsor since 1328,¹ as Constable of the Castle, leaving his son Sir John in possession of his paternal estate of Bramshill. Whether formed originally at Bramshill or at Windsor, his intimacy with Wykeham appears to have been great. He is one of the early benefactors for whose soul Wykeham orders daily masses to be said both at New College and at Winchester;² and his son Sir John left on his death, in 1378, a gold ring set with a sapphire to Wykeham, and directed his executors to be guided by his advice.³

When he had been an ordinary Surveyor almost three years, he was further promoted (July 10th, 1359) to be Chief Warden and Surveyor of the royal castles of Windsor, Leeds, Dover, and Hadleigh, and of all the king's manors, and parks pertaining to the same castles and manors. The same letters patent give him powers to appoint and dismiss all workmen, buy necessities for repairs, provide carpenters, masons, and other artificers, stone, timber, etc.; and in the said manors to hold courts leet and other courts, pleas of trespass and misdemeanour, to enquire of the king's rights, and all things pertaining thereunto.⁴

Chief Surveyor
of sundry
castles, 1359.

This was a great promotion; and it proved to be the turning point of Wykeham's career. It is now that he dawns upon general history. The St. Alban's chronicler tells us that the king "made Sir William de Wikham, a prudent and discreet man, the surveyor of the work."⁵

¹ Sir J. Cope's *Bramshill*, p. 7.

² Stat. Oxf. § 42, Wint. § 29.

³ Sir J. Cope says that part of the old portion of Bramshill House greatly resembles in its architecture the domestic portion of Windsor Castle. May not Foxley have employed Wykeham to build at Bramshill, in one of his absences in Hampshire as land agent, and then have recommended him to the king as Surveyor of works at Windsor?—Sir J. Cope's "*Bramshill*," p. 7.

⁴ Ashmole, p. 128. Harl. MS. 6960, f. 39. Abbrev. Rot. Origin., ii, p. 257.

⁵ Chron. Angl. p. 41. Also in 1359, the king gave to him and two others the surveyorship of Old Windsor Forest, with power to gather rents and look to trees.—Abbrev. Rot. Origin. ii, p. 252.

builds new
ing for royal
apartments at
Windsor,
1360-69.

His appointment as Chief Surveyor was soon followed by further architectural undertakings at Windsor. By Wykeham's advice the king pulled down all the building to the east of the new keep or Round Table, and built there another ward or bailey, to accommodate himself and his court, who were to leave the apartments they had hitherto occupied to the Knights of the Garter. This work was wholly designed and executed under Wykeham's immediate superintendence. It is the first considerable work bearing the impress of his mind, and will remind the observer in its general disposition of his later works at Oxford and Winchester.

The arrangements for impressing workmen for this great work were doubtless made by Wykeham himself. Writs were issued in the king's name,¹ bearing date the 14th April, 1360, directed to the Sheriffs of London and twelve of the adjoining counties, ordering them to send between them to Windsor three hundred and sixty of their best diggers and stone-hewers, by the Sunday after St. George's Day (April 23rd), to be employed at the king's wages as long as was necessary. The Sheriffs were to take security from the workmen that they would not depart from Windsor without the leave of William of Wykeham, who was further to collect the securities, and deposit them in the Court of Chancery. Failing the performance of this, the Sheriffs were to be fined a hundred pounds a-piece.

These precautions did not prevent many of the workmen thus impressed from leaving Windsor, and accepting other employment at higher wages. Fresh writs were therefore issued in 1362 to prohibit all persons from so employing them; and to direct that the runaways be committed to Newgate, and their names returned to the Court of Chancery.

¹ Ashmole, p. 129.

But in 1361 the plague was repeated, less virulently, it is true, but more fatally to the upper classes. During the nine months following August, 1361, as many as twenty-two lay peers and four Bishops died in England.¹ At Windsor it was particularly destructive. Wykeham's great friend, the Constable Foxley, probably died of it; at all events he died this year. Its ravages were so great that new writs had to be issued on the 30th of March, 1362, to the Sheriffs of seven counties which were outside the former circle, directing them to furnish three hundred and two able and skilful masons and stone-diggers by the Sunday after Easter at furthest, under a penalty of two hundred pounds a-piece—an enormous sum, and twice the former penalty.

Second plag
1361; death
Foxley.

The general plan of the building which these workmen were executing was as follows:—To the east of the round keep was a square plateau, with a precipitous side to the north. Around three sides of this were built curtain walls with apartments behind them, the keep itself closing in the fourth or west side. The entrance gate to the whole castle was at the western end of the south side of this square; but the king's palace was a block of buildings adjoining the north wall. You entered the castle gate, and crossed a spacious court to the palace gate, which again was at the south-west of the palace. To your left as you entered—and therefore to the west, and thus defended both by the proximity of the keep and by the precipice on the north—was the square of the king's and queen's apartments, built round a court called the Brick Court, where probably Wykeham exercised his skill for the first time in working this material, which had recently been imported from

¹ One duke, two earls, and nineteen barons are said by Sir H. Nicolas to have died within the months of the plague. And this list is not necessarily exhaustive, as sometimes no date is given for a peer's death.—See Nicolas' *Historical Peerage*.

Flanders, the native country of queen Philippa. To your right as you entered lay the hall and chapel, forming a long continuous range of building, divided by a partition wall, exactly as at Wykeham's two colleges at Oxford and Winchester; while a transverse range connected them with the apartments to the north, and thus separated the enclosed space into two oblong courts, called respectively the Horn and the Kitchen Court.

By 1363 these buildings were ready for glazing;¹ and then Henry Stamerne and John Brampton were employed to buy glass in all parts of the kingdom, wherever it was to be sold; and to impress twelve glaziers and bring them to Windsor, to be employed within the castle. The expenditure of this year amounted to £3,802,² which is equivalent to more than £55,000 of our present money. For six years more the works appear, by the expenditure incurred, to have continued; but with 1369 all serious building work seems to have been concluded.

Wykeham's
fluence with
the king.

It cannot be doubted that this completion of Windsor Castle gave Wykeham great influence with the king. It laid the foundation of his paramount success at court—a success which reminds us of the sudden rise of Piers Gaveston in the reign of the king's father. He is reported by a late tradition³ to have inscribed on an inner wall at Windsor these words, "This made Wickam." It is said to have been a common practice with architects thus to mark their works.⁴ But the words, the tradition goes on, were repeated to the king as if by them the glory due to the master was being assumed by the servant. The king objected to the inscription; but Wykeham defended it on the ground that the true meaning of the words was not that Wykeham had made the castle, but that the castle had

¹ Ashmole, p. 129.

² Cockerell, p. 4.

³ Parker's *Antiq. Brit. Eccles.*, cit. Lowth, p. 22, n.

⁴ Cockerell, p. 4, n. 2.

made Wykeham.¹ Whether the story is true or not, (and if it be true it throws light on the relations of easy familiarity in which Wykeham stood towards the king), at least this interpretation is as true to the facts of the case as the other. It was the building of the royal residence for Edward which made the fortunes of the architect.

In 1361, he gave the design for the building of Queenborough Castle, in the Isle of Sheppey, at the mouth of the Medway and the Swale. This, which was called Queenborough in honour of queen Philippa, was considered a triumph of architectural skill over the difficulties of an awkward situation. But with the change in the style of warfare, its usefulness was over. When cannon supplanted arrows, it was found to be at too great a distance from the sea to be useful, and it was demolished by an Order of the Commonwealth in 1650. Very little trace of it now remains, but what can be made out is sufficient, when compared with an old plan of the castle,² to indicate its original design.

Builds Queen-
borough Castle,
1361-67.

The keep was an irregular circle, something like a rose with five petals, of about 200 feet diameter. Within it lay a large circular courtyard of 150 feet diameter, with a well near the centre. There were five small circular towers for defence, with a square tower surmounting the one entrance; between them were high raised platforms, of a sufficient elevation to permit the defenders to discharge their arrows effectively over the low ground of the island. The ground floor of the keep was parcelled into twelve rooms; the upper storeys contained forty more. At a distance averaging ten yards from the outer wall of the keep, was a circular moat, drawn with geometrical precision, and 48 feet in width; and beyond this again seems to

¹ If we compare with this Wykeham's famous motto, "Manners makyth man," it will seem more probable that "Wykeham" was intended to be the object and not the subject in the inscription. But compare Collins' *Historical Peerage* viii, p. 118.

² Hollar's plan, Grose, iii, p. 90, cit. Cockerell, p. 6.

have existed at one time an outer wall, with its gateway to the south-east defended by two circular towers, the only bridge across the moat and entrance to the keep being on the north-east and west. This great work was not completed till 1367, the year of Wykeham's advancement to the episcopate.

We have thrown together all the notices of Wykeham as an architect: but it must not be forgotten that he was employed in other capacities as well.

Warden of
treasuries and
manors.

Thus his appointment to the Chief Surveyorship at Windsor had involved judicial powers in the manors of which he was made Warden. He must by this time have acquired considerable experience in territorial law—experience which stood him in good stead when he was appointed Chancellor. Thus, in 1361, the king committed¹ to him and Peter Atwood the wardenship of the "Forest on this side Trent," that is, of the Forest of Arden, which extended from the Avon northwards to the Trent. This wardenship he kept till he became Bishop of Winchester.

Fitness to
ratification of
Peace of
Bretigni, 1360.

In 1364,² the manor of Hacconby in Lincolnshire was committed to him to superintend till the heir of Robert Tiffur came of age, which he did in 1369. And on the 21st of January, 1365,³ he had given to him the charge of the lands in Cambridgeshire and Bucks, which Sir Richard le Vache, a privy councillor, had left to his son Philip le Vache.

We have next to contemplate Wykeham in a political character. In October, 1360, he was one of the six who were witnesses to the ratification of the Peace of Bretigni at Calais.

The English armies had not been so successful in France of late as they had been formerly. The two first periods of French war in this reign had been marked by the two signal English victories of Creci and Poitiers. At

¹ Abbrev. Rot. Origin. ii, p. 263.

² id. p. 287.

³ MS. Harl. 6960, f. 75.

the opening of hostilities in 1346, Edward laid claim to the sovereignty of the whole of France, in right of his mother Isabella, the daughter of king Philip the Fair. The victory of Creci and the successful siege of Calais put him into a position to conclude an armistice on terms very favourable to himself, which was prolonged at intervals for several years. But in 1353 Edward, probably seeing that the subjugation of the whole kingdom was a hopeless task, offered to cede his claim to the sovereignty of the whole, and to conclude a permanent peace on condition of being recognised as sovereign of the district which he already held as tenant in chief. John, who had succeeded Philip VI as king, refused, and thereupon followed the second period of the war from 1355 to 1357. Again the English were successful, chiefly owing to the generalship of the Prince of Wales at Poitiers in September, 1356, where he captured the French king and his son. An enormous ransom for their king was now added to Edward's other demands; the French refused, and Edward for the third time prepared to invade France in November, 1359, with an army larger and better appointed than ever before. He pushed through as far as Rheims, to which he laid ineffectual siege for seven weeks, after which he penetrated into Burgundy. Now began his reverses. His huge host dwindled under the affliction of famine (notwithstanding the vastness of his commissariat), while the enemy revenged themselves by a massacre at Winchelsea, which was taken by a French fleet in March, 1360. Edward was returning down the Seine, and at the end of the same month challenged Paris to submit; but in a few days more he was retreating, or rather fleeing with all precipitation, into Bretagne. The army met with a terrible thunderstorm near Chartres; men and horses perished in greater numbers than on the most sanguinary field of battle; and Edward, struck with

remorse, vowed to the Virgin that he would at once conclude a peace. He was then at Bretigni, near Chartres; there peace was concluded on May 8th, and signed by the commissioners of both parties. After a delay of nearly three months, the treaty was solemnly ratified at Calais. "The counsellors and lawyers of the king of England," says Froissart, "drew up a paper called the Charter of Peace, with great deliberation and much prudence."¹ We have no proof that Wykeham was one of them; but the presumption is, from his presence at Calais, that he acted as one of Edward's legal advisers.

The terms of the treaty gave Edward more than he could have hoped to obtain after the late disastrous campaign; but the French were as tired of the war as he, and were glad to be rid of English armies upon any terms. The stipulations were that Edward should renounce his right to the French crown, and to all his conquests except Calais and Guisnes, and reserve to himself only Poitou and Guienne, with the county of Ponthieu; and that the king of France should renounce the sovereignty of these latter counties to Edward. A sum of three million crowns of gold (or £1,125,000 of our present money) was to be paid as a ransom for king John; and twenty-five French barons, sixteen of the prisoners taken at Poitiers, and forty-two of the richest burghers in France were to be detained as hostages till it was paid.

The treaty, thus concluded, was solemnly ratified on October 24th, 1360. The kings knelt together on the steps of the altar in the Church of St. Nicholas at Calais, while the papal envoy, Audoin, abbot of Clugni, after celebrating the mass of the Holy Ghost, extended to them the paten with the Host, attended by Bishop Edingdon of Winchester and the Bishop of Boulogne, who held the missal between

¹ Froissart, i, 212.

them. Audoin recounted the articles of the treaty, after which John and Edward severally placed one hand on the Host and the other on the Gospels, and swore to observe the treaty faithfully. The principals were followed by twenty-four French and twenty-seven English barons, who took the same oath. This act was witnessed by Wykeham, together with five others.

In the course of 1364, we find Wykeham acting as a Minister of the Crown. On May 5th he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal by Bishop Langham, then Chancellor; and in June he is addressed by Pope Urban V as Secretary to the King.¹ He had been, probably, for some time a privy councillor, and such was his intimacy with the king that he is said afterwards to have been at this time "chief of the Privy Council, and governor of the Great Council."

Keeper of the Privy Seal and king's secretary, 1364.

At the same time with these honours, his purse was liberally provided for. On the 14th March, 1365, the king by letters patent confers on him twenty shillings a day "in consideration of divers offices touching on private businesses, with which we have specially burdened him, and in the execution and expedition of which he has borne excessive labours and expenses, and will be bound to bear more each day;" to be paid out of his exchequer as from June 10th, 1363, "as long as he bears the above mentioned offices and burdens, notwithstanding that he is dwelling in our actual household."²

On May 20th, 1365, he acts as a Commissioner to settle the terms of a long truce with Scotland. King David, the son of Robert Bruce, had been captured at the battle of Nevil's Cross in 1346, been detained three years in captivity,

Commissioner to treat with Scotland, 1365.

¹ William of Wykeham, keeper of the Privy Seal, paid to the king sums amounting to £9678, which had been paid for the King of France's ransom.—*Issue Roll of Brantingham*, p. xlii: date 1367.

² MS. Harl. 6960, f. 72.

and only released upon consenting to pay a large sum for his ransom. This he found himself unable to raise; and after fruitless and interminable discussions, a commission was appointed in May, 1365, consisting of the Chancellor (bishop Langham of Ely), the Treasurer (bishop Barnett of Bath and Wells), the Earl of Arundel, and Wykeham, the Privy Seal, to settle the amount of the instalments by which he should pay the remainder of his ransom,¹ and the duration of the truce between England and Scotland.

Froissart's
testimony to his
influence.

Thus, it seems that Wykeham by this time has climbed to the highest offices of state, and thoroughly ingratiated himself with his master, king Edward. And the fact which thus appears is borne witness to by the chroniclers of that time. "At this time,"² says Froissart, "there reigned a priest in England called Sir William de Wican, and this Sir William de Wican was so much in favour with the king of England, that by him everything was done, and without him they did nothing." And Malverne connects together the events reviewed in this chapter as cause and effect. "Looking how to please the king and gain his goodwill, he procured the building of the said Windsor Castle in such a style as one sees it now, and shortly after constructed a new castle in the Isle of Sheppey by the sea, and there fixed a market, though the place was ill situated for building. On which account, the lord king enriched him with many good and fat benefits, and soon after made him keeper of his Privy Seal." Doubtless, there is a certain amount of truth even in such a juxtaposition as this. In the sense in which he himself inscribed the word on the wall at Windsor, "This made Wickam."

¹ In the Introduction to Brantingham's *Issue Roll* is a notice, dated 1367, of "£4,000 paid to the King, in gold nobles on behalf of Scotland for ransom of Robert [sic] de Bruys; present, the Lord William of Wykeham."—p. xlii.

² Froissart, i, 249.

CHAPTER III.

WYKEHAM AND THE POPES.

A.D. 1357—1368.

WE are accustomed to think of Edward III as the king who gained splendid successes in urging his title to the French throne. But this is not his best title to be remembered with gratitude by Englishmen. All through his reign he was heading the national Church in a persistent warfare against the encroaching claims of the Roman see. And he was the first king of England who identified himself with the national Church all through his reign ; so that he may be said to have begun the resistance to the Roman claims of supremacy, which culminated in the rupture under Henry VIII two hundred years later. We are now to consider the part which Wykeham played in the development of this resistance.

Edward III
heads the na-
tional Church
against the
Roman claim

The Church of England was beginning in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to assert her position as a national Church. But this was hardly dreamt of before. England had originally been converted from Rome, and her Church had owed, and paid, to Rome the allegiance of a dutiful child. Moreover she had been converted by monks, and to the monastic system she owed most of her famous men at first. The ninth century had seen the downfall of the predominance of the monasteries, since they were the chief sufferers at the hands of the Danes ; and the clergy who were secular, that is, unconnected with monasteries, and so non-

Roman, had come to the front. But then came the planting of the Benedictine rule in England under Dunstan, and the "regulars" as they were called, again triumphed over the seculars, and in their triumph they re-established in England the customs of Rome. But the greatest denationalization of the Church took place in the eleventh century. Edward the Confessor gave the Church over to foreign influence, and the Norman kings did but follow in his steps. And again, monastic influence went hand in hand with foreign influence. The first two archbishops of Canterbury after the Conquest were foreign monks. Not till 1114 did Henry I allow the appointment of Bishop Ralph of Rochester, who though an Englishman was yet a monk.

Again, the whole career of archbishop Becket was a misfortune to the national Church. Espousing the cause of his order upon his appointment to Canterbury, he threw his whole ardour upon the side of the Pope; and though he met with but indifferent success during his life, the cause triumphed in his death. The horror felt at his murder caused a reaction, and strengthened materially the papal influence in England. This influence became paramount during the reign of John. But now Stephen Langton became archbishop of Canterbury, and under him the Church first began to feel herself national. Magna Charta identified her rights with the national rights; henceforth a nucleus of the clergy are on her side as against papal claims, shamelessly enforced throughout the long reign of Henry III by papal legates. The king was the enemy of the national feeling; but the king and his foreign favourites did the national Church a service by so thoroughly proving that her interests were the same with those of the nation.

The Church of England had at this time two chief causes for complaint against the Court of Rome. The first was the impoverishment of the English clergy by ruinous

taxation, to be used for foreign purposes ; the second was the forced intrusion of foreign clerks into her benefices, by means of what were called *provisions*, that is, writs prohibiting the exercise of his rights by an English patron, until some favourite or favourites of the Roman Court had been provided with benefices. Against both of these evils a stand was made by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, (1235—53) and for the time he was successful in mitigating both of them, and in rallying a national party round him. But he soon passed away, and the popes inflicted in succession¹ two archbishops of Canterbury on the Church from among the friars ; good men, but with no notion beyond that of implicit obedience to the Roman See.

For fifty years the kings of England had habitually agreed with the pope to despoil the clergy, and the leaders of the national Church party had protested in vain. But Edward III, when he came into power, instead of aiding the pope in his designs against it, put himself at its head. He was more than ordinarily indebted to the bishops. Orlton of Winchester and Stratford of Canterbury had carried through the revolution which enabled him to deprive Mortimer of the sovereign power. Ever since, Stratford had been his prime minister, as we should say, though he had resigned the Great Seal for eight years before his death in 1348. And the leading policy of the ministry had been resistance to the encroachments of the popes ; for now the chief disturbing element in English politics was the interference of the popes with the constitution. The king had found the clergy rapidly becoming so much the creatures of the pope, as to ignore his regal authority. Against this he made his stand ; and countenanced by their natural head, the national Church party took courage, and increased in power. In 1343 he issued a proclamation, forbidding the

¹ Archbishops Kilwardby and Peckham, 1273—93.

King's Proclamation as to provisions, 1343.

presentees to provided benefices to enter, and his subjects to admit them. This sealed the compact between the king and the Church; henceforth they were to have but one object, and that was the emancipation of the Church from the evils under which it groaned.

Of course, there were two parties, now as ever, in the English Church itself: there were the partisans of the papacy, as well as the national reformers. But the papal partisans were unpopular for the moment. For the papal court was at Avignon, undergoing its seventy years captivity, during which it was at the will and beck of the kings of France. But England was at war with France, and it seemed intolerable that English clergy should be taxed that the money might go into France. The chief supporters, therefore, of the pope were the regular clergy—the monks and friars—whose vows bound them in an especial manner to uphold the Head of the Church. Hence we can understand Edward's preference for the secular over the regular clergy, and for those who would take the national side in the matters at issue between him and the pope.

First statute of
Provisors,
1351.

The king's ordinance of 1343 passed into a law in 1351, a law which is known as the first statute of Provisors. It enacted that in case the pope collated to any archbishopric, bishopric, dignity, or other benefice, in disturbance of free elections or presentations, the patronage of such benefice was to be forfeited to the crown, and the king was to dispose of the benefice for one turn. And if any person should procure reservations or provisions from the pope then the said provisors, their procurators and notaries, were to be arrested, and—being convicted—to be imprisoned till they had satisfied the fine imposed on them to the king and the party aggrieved.

and of Præmunire, 1353.

Another step in the same direction was made two years afterwards (1353) in the statute of "Præmunire." This

enacts that any of the king's lieges who shall lodge a plea against any in courts not within the realm, or on matters whereon the king's courts give judgment, shall have two months' warning given them to appear in the king's courts to answer their contempt; and if they do not appear at the proper time, then they, their proctors and attorneys, shall be straightway put out of the king's protection, their lands, goods and chattels be forfeited to the king, and their persons imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

These two statutes—both passed while Wykeham was working in a subordinate capacity at Windsor—were the first of their kind. It was, probably, before he had anything to do with legislation; before he even possessed the confidence of the king. But they indicate the tendency of the court when he was yet a young aspirant to office, and they are forecasts of the greater statutes on the same subjects passed by his own ministry forty years later.¹

Meanwhile, Wykeham was to play a personal part in the controversy between the king and the pope. Of course, he was on the side of the king: it could hardly have been otherwise. The king was his benefactor, who was ever loading him with new favours. The pope, though the head of the Church of which he was a clerk, was a foreign potentate, ever encroaching on national rights. Wykeham did not so much make his position for himself, as find himself thrust into it by the force of circumstances.

Wykeham
takes a personal
part in the
controversy.

The Constitutions of Clarendon had declared in 1164 that "when an archbishopric or bishopric, or abbey or priory in the lordship of the king be vacant, it ought to be in his hand, and he shall receive from it all rents and profits as belonging to the lord." This the kings had interpreted into a right to present to all benefices in the gift of such

¹ Stubbs, iii, p. 33.

bishopric or abbey, which fell vacant before it was filled up. One of the most effectual means, therefore, of warfare against popes who were filling England with clerks provided by themselves, was to claim and exercise this right, and to multiply and prolong the occasions for the exercise of it.

Thus Wykeham had been already, as was mentioned before, appointed to the rectory of Irstead in 1349, in the vacancy after the death of the abbot of Hulme, who should have presented had he been living. This was the only Church preferment which he obtained for eight years. But in November 14th, 1357, we have seen that he had received the grant of a daily sum from the exchequer, until he should be peacefully promoted by the king to some ecclesiastical benefice.

The occurrence of the word "peacefully" in the letters patent, probably, has much significance. It means that the king looked forward to open war between the papal and royal courts. Innocent VI, the reigning pope, was a strict reformer, and compelled residence in France, where he could command it. He had no reason to favour England, whose dominions approached uncomfortably near his own residence at Avignon, and whose hosts were some times actually seen beneath its walls.¹

Bishop of Ely
quarrels with
the king.

One of his chief partisans in England was Thomas Lisle, bishop of Ely, and the bishop of Ely had quarrelled with the king very soon after his appointment. From the first he had been on the papal side, not the national. The brethren of the Ely Monastery had chosen another man, but the pope set him aside to appoint Lisle, prior of the Order of Preachers, and his own penitentiary. Lisle was a hot-tempered man; but for some years all things went smoothly. Then, he quarrelled with Blanche, Lady Wake, the king's cousin, about their rights to contiguous manors,

¹ Milman, v, p. 377.

and was cast in the suit which he brought against her. He indignantly forced himself into the king's presence, and told him that his royal power was being abused to hinder the fair administration of the law. Unfortunately, a short time after, a retainer of Lady Wake's was murdered by the bishop's chamberlain. The sister of the murdered man joined Lady Wake in appealing to the king, who submitted the cause for trial to the Justices of the King's Bench. The bishop was found guilty, not of having instigated the murder, but of having knowingly harboured the murderer after the fact, and sentenced to forfeit the temporals of his see, which were accordingly confiscated by the king.

who deprives
him of his
temporals,

The bishop appealed to archbishop Islip of Canterbury, to admit him to purge himself by oath of the charge laid against him. The archbishop advised him first to make his peace with the king. But this the bishop refused to do, and instead fled beyond sea, and laid his cause before the pope at Avignon. He crossed the channel on the 19th of November, 1357¹—only five days, it will be observed, after the letters patent to Wykeham talking about "peaceful preferment;"—and eleven days after (on the 30th), the king gave to Wykeham, out of the temporalities of the see, the rich living of Pulham.²

and gives
Wykeham the
rectory of
Pulham.

Arrived at Avignon, Lisle lost no time in laying his cause before Innocent VI. The pope cited the parties to appear for judgment: and when they did not appear, excommunicated them. The papal decrees were still obeyed rigorously by a certain party in England: the bones of one of these excommunicated persons, who had died and been buried, were dragged from his grave, and ignominiously cast into a horsepond; while another sought and obtained absolution from the papal excommunication.³

Bishop Lisle
complains to
the pope, who
cites the parties
to appear,

¹ Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i, p. 660. He gives the year as 1356; but cf. marginal note, and p. 652, note f.

² MS. Harl. 6960, f. 35.

³ *Ang. Sacr.* i, pp. 44, 45.

The king's anger was roused. He issued a commission to certain justices to enquire who were the culprits who had published the papal decrees, and fined and imprisoned those who were found guilty. It was an unfortunate moment for two papal emissaries to be found in England, with papal injunctions to English bishops upon them. They were arrested, and thrown into Newgate, where they died, it was said, of harsh treatment.¹

and prosecutes
Wykeham for
wrongful occu-
pancy of
Pulham:

Thus war to the knife was proclaimed between the pope and the bishop on the one side, and the king and national party on the other. In such a state of things, it is not surprising that bishop Lisle should have commenced a prosecution of Wykeham for having taken possession of the living of Pulham, without rightful presentation; for if the temporals had been wrongfully seized, Pulham was still his to give away. When the king heard of this, he gave Wykeham (under date of the 16th of April, 1359) a grant of money. He observes that he has not yet provided suitably for William of Wykeham, clerk, and therefore gives him £20 a year, besides the sums he receives for offices at Windsor and elsewhere, until he comes into peaceful possession of Pulham Church, which he holds by the king's collation, but as to which he is being prosecuted in the Roman Court: or, until he be provided with some other benefice of the value of at least a hundred marks a year.²

This is incidentally useful as showing what the value of Pulham was. It was, no doubt, at least 100 marks—*i.e.*, £60. 15s.—an enormous sum in those days.

but dies, June,
1361: on which
the king
presents
Wykeham
again to
Pulham.

The next scene we have is, probably, some time later. The exasperation caused by the measures of war on both sides had had time to cool. Proctors were sent to Avignon to consult on terms of peace by the king; the bishop

¹ *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i, p. 661.

² MS. Harl. 6960, f. 39.

was expecting to be again able to come to England. But before everything could be arranged, on June 23rd, 1361, he died at Avignon.¹ And seventeen days after—not more than enough for the transmission of the news—on July 10th, the king repeats the collation of Wykeham to the Church of “Pulham, in the vacancy of the bishopric of Ely.”²

The details of this story well illustrate the manners, and show how keen were the party feelings of the time. We catch from them a glimpse of the lengths to which the papal and national church parties were prepared to go, when they were both headed by men who knew their own minds, and were resolved on carrying out their own measures.

But Wykeham, however in this matter he had let his name be used, may well have felt uneasy at appearing in such an unfavourable light at Rome. He consented to the gift of July 10th, whereby the king sealed, as it were, his triumph over his adversary; but in the next month (August 20th), he voluntarily resigned the living, procuring that it should be given instead to Andrew Stratford.³

Wykeham
resigns Pulham,
Aug. 1361.

We have carried on the story of the Pulham controversy to the end, in order not to distract the reader's mind by introducing other subjects. But, meanwhile, Wykeham, as early as 1358, had become a marked man. He had let himself be thrust into a most uncomfortable position; but he had, probably, done it of his own choice. Henceforth, he would be known at Avignon as the king's clerk who, without any orders but the first tonsure, had occupied by the king's gift a living rightfully in the gift of the bishop of Ely, and been prosecuted for it in the papal court; nay, who had refused to give it up, and had been successful in his refusal.

¹ *Ang. Sacr.* i, p. 662.

² MS. Harl. 6960, f. 50.

³ MS. Harl. 1960, f. 50; quoted by Walcott, p. 10.

The king
appoints
Stretton to
bishopric of
Lichfield,

but the pope
declines to
confirm him.

The king gives
Wykeham the
prebend of
Flixton,
March, 1359.

During the first burst of the resentment of the papalists against Wykeham, Roger de Northburgh, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, died at the end of 1358.¹ Northburgh had been originally a nominee of the papal see, and had all his life shown the strongest attachment to it: he had occupied the see for thirty-eight years, and had probably filled the diocese with papalists like himself. The king lost no time in filling the bishopric; prince Edward asked for the appointment for his chaplain Dr. Robert Stretton, and Stretton was at once elected and confirmed.² Perhaps the king had hoped that the appointment would be acceptable to the pope, as Stretton had been one of the Auditors of the Rota at the papal court.³ But Innocent heard a bad report of Stretton's learning; and he refused to give leave for his consecration, unless he would first come to Avignon, and undergo an examination. Stretton submitted, and came; but although he was fortified by letters of request from Edward to the pope, he was found wanting by the papal examiners, and rejected "propter defectum literaturæ." But the king insisted on the appointment; for the delay in filling the see only enabled him to keep and enjoy the temporals of it.

And now, on March 1st, 1359, the king appoints Wykeham⁴ to the prebend of Flixton in Lichfield Cathedral, which happened to be vacated during the vacancy of the see. We may fancy the indignation of a papalist dean and chapter, called upon thus to suffer the intrusion of a man who was at that moment being prosecuted at Avignon. Stretton had obeyed the pope's citation, and gone obediently to Avignon for examination; but Wykeham had set at

¹ November 22nd. Beresford's *Diocesan History of Lichfield*, p. 143.

² Birchington in *Angl. Sacr.* i, p. 44.

³ Whitlock in *Angl. Sacr.* i, p. 449.

⁴ MS. Harl. 6960, f. 38.

nought the pope's jurisdiction, and was even now sheltering himself behind the prerogative of the king. They, therefore, demurred to his appointment, and seem to have protested against it, and probably sent an account of their protest to Avignon. At all events, the guardian of the spirituals of the see, Hugh Hopwas, who according to custom had been appointed by the archbishop of Canterbury for the express purpose of instituting to vacant benefices, took no notice of the king's letters patent. There is no presentation to the prebend of Flixton.

The guardian of the see refuses him institution.

So, for two years both the bishopric and the prebend lay vacant; until Prince Edward besought the pope to put an end to the scandal by appointing a commission to examine his former chaplain again, that he might receive consecration. Innocent yielded, and appointed archbishop Langham and bishop Sheppey of Rochester to examine him in England. Stretton underwent examination a second time, but a second time he was rejected. The examiners found him "insufficient," and were not able or willing to accept him. And now, again, the king, who had no mind to give in to the dean and chapter, a second time (August 22nd, 1360) issues letters patent appointing Wykeham¹ to the vacant prebend of Flixton. They were absolutely ignored, as before.

Wykeham presented to Flixton a second time, Aug. 1360.

Matters were again at a deadlock; when pope Innocent suddenly gave in, and wrote to the archbishop to consecrate Stretton without examination. Disdaining to do this himself to a man whom he had pronounced unfit, the archbishop yet permitted bishop Northburgh of London to do it, and Stretton was consecrated September 27th, 1360. He took the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop at Lambeth on the 6th of February following; but it was

Stretton made bishop of Lichfield,

¹ MS. Harl. 6960, f. 43.

found that he could not read the Latin of the oath, and a third party had to read it for him.¹

institutes
Wykeham, and
insists on his
induction.

But before this, the king—whose patronage in the prebend was so soon to expire—had, on January 29th, for the third time “conceded or given” to Wykeham the prebend of Flixton,² and had written to Stretton, directing him to institute Wykeham to the prebend. Accordingly, Stretton writes on the 1st of February to Hugh Hopwas,³ who up to this time had acted independently as guardian of the spirituals of the see, making him his commissary for the purpose, and enjoining him to “execute the letters of our lord the king according to the requirement of the law.” This Hugh Hopwas did under protest. He inducted one Nicholas Ivinghoe, Wykeham’s proxy, to the stall of Flixton in the choir of Lichfield Cathedral, and assigned him his due place in the chapter. He then writes to the bishop, under date of April 13th, that he has done all this, saving the right of the dean and chapter.⁴

Wykeham
inducted under
protest,

but resigns
prebend, Nov.
1361.

But we find that at the end of the same year Wykeham exchanged this uneasy seat with John Waltham,⁵ who resigned to him instead of it the prebend of Dunham in Southwell Collegiate Church, worth 55 marks, or nearly £37.⁶

Wykeham had thus become notorious both at Avignon,

¹ Dean Hook (iv, pp. 148, 149) charitably suggests that his sight may have been failing him. He was blind before his death (*Anglia Sacra*, i, p. 449 n), which took place in 1385.

² MS. Harl. 6960, f. 46.

³ Stretton Reg. f. 79.

⁴ It is difficult to decipher Stretton’s Register here (f. 79). It seems to read “Dominum W. de Wikham . . . in Canonicum et fratrem ecclesie cathedralis Lichfield necnon dictæ præbendæ præbendarium, salvo jure cujuscunque per locum tenentem decan; et capitulum . . . admitti . . . feci.” The dean and chapter had the right of induction, and protested against their new bishop’s violation of that right.

⁵ Reg. Stretton, f. 52. John Waltham (perhaps from Bishop’s Waltham, Hants) was a friend of Wykeham’s, and succeeded him in more than one preferment. He became bishop of Salisbury in 1388.

⁶ Reg. Langham, f. 12.

and to the papal partisans in England. On May 5th, 1360, he was further appointed by the king to the deanery of the collegiate church of St. Martin le Grand,¹ near Aldersgate, London. He found the building nearly in ruins; and, always glad of an opportunity of exercising his architectural skill, he rebuilt the chapel, cloister, and chapter-house, decorating them with stone carvings and rich woodwork at his own expense.

Made dean of
St. Martin's le
Grand.

The controversy about the Lichfield stall was not settled till April, that about Pulham not till July, 1361. And by this time, Wykeham seems to have come to the momentous resolution to seek Holy Orders without further delay; and this it was which made him anxious to terminate these controversies, and not only so, but also to resign the preferments which had been the causes of the quarrels, before he became an acolyte. And we find that he had actually resigned both, before (on December 5th) he was ordained an acolyte² by bishop Edington, in the chapel of his palace at Southwark.

Ordained
acolyte, Dec.
5th, 1361.

If we seek a reason for his determination to proceed to Holy Orders now, after so long a hesitation, perhaps a sufficient one will be found in the fact that, as already noticed, this year saw the second visitation of the plague, when so many of the nobility—among them his friend, the Constable Thomas Foxley—fell victims to it. But he had, in all probability, made up his mind before this, and communicated his purpose to the king. For from July, 1361, to the end of the year, the king loaded him with prebends, which fell into his hands in great numbers through the unusual number of clerical deaths. This astonishing list of Church preferments is as follows:

Presented to
numerous
prebends by
the king.

¹ MS. Harl. 6960, f. 88. "*Opere lapideo et ligneo dictam capellam et claustrum in gremio ejusdem restituit in formam novam miræ pulchritudinis, et erexit ac celaturis lapideis illud mirabiliter insignivit.*"

² Reg. Edington, iv, ff.

1.—July 12th. Prebend, vacated by the death of William Somerford, in Hereford Cathedral.¹ Bishop Trilleck of Hereford having died in November, 1360, and his successor not yet being appointed, the king had the presentation to the prebend.

2.—July 16. Prebend of Trathelan in the collegiate Church of Abergwili, in the diocese of St. David's.² Bishop Falstoffs of St. David's had died the month before. But this prebend Wykeham exchanged on December 14th, the same year, for that of Rhyl in the same Church.³

3.—Same day. Prebend of Treffeleg in the collegiate Church of Llanddewi Brewi, in Cardiganshire, in the diocese of St. David's.⁴

4.—July 24th. Prebend in Bromyard collegiate Church, in the diocese of Hereford.⁵ See No. 2. This however he resigned on October 23rd following.⁶

5.—August 16th. Prebend of Yetminster Prima in Salisbury Cathedral.⁷ Admitted, and probably presented also, by bishop Robert Wyville, who had been appointed to Salisbury at the instance of queen Philippa. This however he exchanged on October 9th for another prebend in the same Cathedral, that of Fordington and Writhlington;⁸ and this, again, on October 15th, for that of Bedminster and Redcliffe, in the same.⁹

6.—September 24th. Prebend of the Altar of St. Mary in the collegiate Church of Beverley, diocese of York;¹⁰ worth £16.

7.—October 1st. Prebend of Oxgate in St. Paul's, London.¹¹ Bishop Michael Northburgh had died in September, and the king had the gift of the prebend. But on December 10th Wykeham exchanged this for that of Totenhall, in the same Cathedral.¹²

8.—November 22nd. Prebend, vacated by Richard Clayhanger, in St. David's Cathedral.¹³ See No. 2.

9.—December 20th. Prebend in Wherwell Minster, a Benedictine nunnery, in the diocese of Winchester.¹⁴ To this he was admitted, if not presented, by bishop Edingdon, who only a fortnight before had ordained him acolyte.

¹ MS. Harl. 6960, f. 50.

² Ib. l. c.

³ Ib. 60.

⁴ Ib. 50.

⁵ Ib. l. c.

⁶ Ib. 56.

⁷ Rich. Jones's *Fasti Ecclesie Sarisburiensis*, p. 434.

⁸ MS. Harl. p. 381.

⁹ Ib. p. 361.

¹⁰ Ib. 6960, f. 54.

¹¹ Ib. f. 54.

¹² Ib. 60.

¹³ Ib. 6960, f. 58.

¹⁴ Ib. 59.

But we find that Innocent determined to try and put a stop to this accumulation of benefices upon so flagrant an offender against himself. The way in which he interfered was the same which he took in Stretton's case. Wykeham was to be presented to the prebend of St. Andrew in the church of Bishop Auckland. The pope issued a bull to Adam Houghton, the bishop elect of St. David's, directing him to examine Wykeham, and if he was found fit, to allow him to take the prebend.¹

The pope proposes to examine him : Wykeham declines.

Did he hope to stop him, as he had prevented Stretton two years before from taking his bishopric? It is reasonable to suppose that rumours were abroad about Wykeham's lack of learning, such as certainly were spread later, which may account for Innocent's conduct. He had found the examination test useful once against King Edward's nominee, and he may have hoped to be successful again.

However this were, he was disappointed. Wykeham, rather than submit to the indignity of being examined, chose to throw up the prebend. It is to be observed that Innocent did not object to him, as he well might have done, on the ground that he was not yet in Holy Orders: he chose rather to proceed against him for want of learning.

In 1362, he was ordained subdeacon² on March 12th, and priest³ on June 12th, both by bishop Edington, at Southwark. The record of his ordination as deacon, strange to say, is missing.

Ordained subdeacon, March 12th, and priest, June 12th, 1362.

In 1363, he was presented on February 17th to a prebend in the collegiate church of Hastings; and⁴ on April 21st, to a prebend in the royal chapel of St. Stephen's, Westminster.⁵

Presented to more prebends :

¹ Reg. Langham, f. 12.

² Reg. Edington, iv, qq. He is described as "Canonicus Sarum."

³ Ib. RR. He is described as dean of St. Martin's. ⁴ MS. Harl. 6960, f. 66.

⁵ Ib., 67. This prebend was vacated by John Harmesthorp, clerk and secretary to Queen Philippa (Additional Charters, Brit. Mus. 15, 422).

to the arch-
deaconry of
Northampton,

which he
exchanges for
that of Lincoln,
May, 1362.

The king
makes him
provost and
prebendary of
Wells.

John Gyndwell, bishop of Lincoln, had died in August, 1362. His chapter elected under the royal licence John Buckingham, archdeacon of Northampton, to succeed him, who was confirmed by the pope on April 5th next following. Three weeks later (April 26th), the king collated Wykeham to the archdeaconry of Northampton, which comprised the whole of the counties of Northampton and Rutland. But this Wykeham exchanged within the month for the archdeaconry of Lincoln, which he took (May 23rd, 1361) on the resignation of John de Ufford, and which included all the county of Lincoln, except the deanery of Stow.

On the 15th December, 1363, he was further made provost and prebendary of Wells Cathedral by the king, presenting after the death of bishop Ralph Shrewsbury. The provost was the chief officer among the prebendaries of Wells; he held a large endowment, out of which he had to pay the other fourteen prebendaries, and other cathedral ministers: but his residuary income therefrom averaged 68 marks, or £45. 6s. 8d.¹

But in May, 1364, Wykeham—who had been for some time all powerful at the council-board as king's Secretary—joined the clerical ministry of bishop Langham of Ely, as Keeper of the Privy Seal. What made the country so tolerant of a ministry almost wholly composed of clerics, was the fact that the chief political question of the day was resistance to the pope, and that the clerics were the foremost to resist his claims. And there was a new and still more severe pope to deal with. Innocent VI, Wykeham's old enemy, had died in October, 1362, and Urban V, a Benedictine abbot in Marseilles, had been elected instead. He was born an English subject, though a French-

¹ What he paid away amounted to 175 marks yearly, or £116. 13s. 4d.; the whole receipts, therefore, of the provost were £162. Reg. Langham, f. 12. In the thirteenth century, they had been £164. 18s. 6½d., of which £100 was paid to the fifteen prebendaries.—Freeman's *Cathedral Church of Wells*.

man ; he was rigorously moral, though Avignon was a sink of profligacy of the worst kind. He was longing, and fully intended, to return to Rome ; but, meanwhile, his hands were full of the correction of abuses. But the king of England had his abuses, too, to complain of as against the pope. The statutes of Provisors and Præmunire were not obeyed as they should be ; and the pope, he who had been a subject of the king of England, connived at their being broken. Under these circumstances, it was determined—and it may possibly have been the impetus given to the ministry by the new Privy Seal that instigated it—to enforce more strictly the statute of Provisors in the next parliament, and that the king should speak to the lords in person on the subject.

Accordingly, on January 21st, 1365, the lords were addressed by the king, who complained of the insult offered to the laws of the land by the breach of both these statutes. This, he said, had so impoverished the Church in England as to make it well nigh impossible to sustain God's worship in its due pomp and style. The commons had the substance of the king's speech repeated to them, and the result was that a statute was passed bringing suitors to the papal courts more distinctly under the provisions of the former act of Præmunire, by which they had been declared liable to outlawry and imprisonment.

New statute of Provisors.

To this challenge, Urban V responded in a characteristic way. He reminded the king that king John had promised that the English nation should for ever pay to the papal see a thousand marks a year ; and as this payment had now been suspended for thirty-three years, he demanded that thirty-three thousand marks should be paid over to him. And, before the parliament replied to this audacious claim, he published a bull¹ against the pluralities held by the

The pope demands the arrears of King John's tribute,

and publishes a bull against pluralities.

¹ May 5th, 1365.

clergy, which would strike a blow, at least, at one well known ecclesiastic in England. He has been told,¹ he says, by those worthy of credit, that certain of the clergy in England have presumed to accumulate many dignities, prebends, benefices, or ecclesiastical offices in an excessive number, which has led and is leading to great evils and scandals. Therefore, he warns all such persons to come before their diocesan within six months, with an exact list in writing of all such priories, benefices, etc., describing whether they are with or without cure, what is their quality and true value, under pain of being deprived of such benefices. The bishops were to furnish all such lists within one month to their metropolitan, and the metropolitans to forward them to the pope within a certain number of months, to be fixed at their own discretion.

It is plain that Wykeham was one of those at whom this bull was aimed. Former popes, it is true, had been very shameless in giving their dispensations, and there were, probably, cases where the same man held together more benefices than Wykeham held. But he was the most prominent of those who derived all their promotions from one source—the king: and pope Urban, in his zeal to reform the abuses allowed by former popes, would not be sorry to be able to deal a blow at such a leading champion of the ministry which had just strengthened the law as to *Præmunire*.

Answer of
parliament to
pope's demand.

On March 30th, 1366, the parliament met² to consider the matter of the pope's claim to tribute. The bishops requested leave to discuss the question by themselves. On April 2nd, the whole of parliament resolved that if the pope attempted in any way to enforce his claim, the king should withstand him with the whole force of his realm. It is

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii, p. 62.

² *Rot. Parl.* ii, p. 289.

needless to add that no further step in the matter was taken by the pope.

This proves that the papalist party in England had almost dwindled to nothing. Not quite, however: for, shortly after, an anonymous monk published a tract maintaining that the kings of England, by their failure to pay the thousand marks yearly, had legally forfeited the sovereignty of England to the pope. He challenged John Wiclif, a rising chaplain of the king, to refute the statement if he could.

This is the first time we hear of Wiclif, but the circumstances of his first appearance are very significant. He is one of the king's clerks at Windsor under Langham, who as Chancellor had the especial management of the royal chapel. He is hand and glove with the nationalist ministry of the day, of which Wykeham was so important a member, and employed by them, it seems, to wield his pen on their behalf. For he was one of the acutest theologians of the day, with great dialectical skill and force derived from the Oxford schools. Wiclif wrote a rejoinder, which at once set him at the head of the antipapal controversialists.

John Wiclif asserts that England is under no obligation to pay tribute to pope.

Though the pope's bull on pluralities had been issued in May, 1365, it does not appear to have been acted upon for some time. But in 1366, at latest, all the pluralist clergy were bound to certify the value of their livings to their diocesan. Wykeham, as a resident in London, appeared before Simon Sudbury, bishop of London, in November, 1366, and gave a list in writing of all his ecclesiastical preferments. He states that he has one benefice with cure of souls—the archdeaconry of Lincoln; that he has eleven benefices without cure; and that, in obedience to the bull, he has resigned the living of Menheniot, near Liskeard, in Cornwall, which he had held by virtue of a papal dispensation.¹

Wykeham makes his return as to benefices held by him.

¹ Reg. Langham, f. 12. See the text of the Return in Appendix A.

Wykeham had rigorously complied with the law of his time. That law prescribed that a man might hold but one benefice with the cure of souls, but allowed him to hold besides any number of benefices without cure. Even to hold Menheniot—which, of course, was a benefice with cure—he had taken care to provide himself with a papal dispensation. If he had cared to shelter himself under this, he might still have held the living; but he preferred to resign it, as more respectful to the pope.

More prebends
in his posses-
sion.

Meanwhile, his return mentions many prebends as in his possession, which we have not yet heard of. These are :—

1.—The prebend of Sutton, in Lincoln Cathedral : worth 260 marks, or £173. 6s. 8d. This had been in his possession at least since June, 1362.

2.—The prebend of Laughton, in York Minster : worth 110 marks, or £73. 6s. 8d. This he had taken (31st October, 1363) in exchange for another in the same church, that of Langtoft ; and this again he took (17th March, 1362) in exchange for the benefice of Gosberkirk, in Lincolnshire.

3.—The prebend of Iwerne, in Shaftesbury nunnery, worth thirty marks, or £20. The abbess ordinarily appointed the prebendaries ; but the abbess, Margaret Lewknor, was just dead, and the king had the presentation, as this was one of the four nunneries in England which was held of the king as baronies. Wykeham was presented on July 2nd, 1361 ; and on the last day of the same month a new abbess, Joan Formage—also presented by the king—was confirmed and received the benediction from the bishop of Salisbury.¹

4.—The prebend of Swords, in Dublin Cathedral, in Ireland : worth ninety marks, or £60.

5.—The prebend of Alnethley, in the collegiate Church of Bridgenorth, in Shropshire : worth £23. 6s. 8d. In the king's gift, Bridgenorth being a royal free chapel.

We have now carried him through to the greatest extent of his church preferments before he became bishop.

¹ Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

And every one that reads such a list in the present generation will, at once, say, "How can you defend such pluralism? Here is a man who, besides rich lay appointments, is well beneficed in every diocese in England, except five:¹ how is it possible to acquit him of gross covetousness, in that he received pay for work which he never tried, or even intended, to perform? It is, surely, no excuse, but only a plea in arrest of judgment, to say that he made a munificent use of the wealth so accumulated; for he ought to have declined to accumulate such wealth under such conditions at all."

Pluralism in itself not to be defended;

We all must condemn the principle of pluralism; that is, of the receiving money to perform duties which we cannot perform at all except by deputy. But it is a very different thing to condemn the system, and to condemn the men who made use of the system. The utmost that can fairly be said in condemnation of Wykeham is that he was not ahead of the age in which he lived. He was not in the vanguard of Church reform upon this matter. That he was a forward reformer of the Church in other matters we have already seen. But as regards this particular abuse, he had not had his eyes opened. And well they might be shut, when the tendency not only of his generation, but of many past generations, had been to close them.

but we must not condemn Wykeham for not being in advance of his age.

For, first, it was the universal custom to regard Church benefices as convenient rewards for secular work. Not only the king so regarded them, and the lay mind of the country, but the presentees, and clerical opinion in general. There was, doubtless, not a layman in England who would have found fault with Wykeham for accepting so many benefices, nor a cleric who would have refused to do the like. And even the pope, in publishing his bull against pluralities, did not put the matter on the right ground. He

Popular conceptions of clerical duty in the 14th century.

¹ Canterbury, Rochester, Worcester, Carlisle, Durham.

only said, "You have broken the law, which forbids you to hold at the same time more than one benefice with cure of souls." He did not say: "All benefices in the Church are to be held by you as trustees for work to be done by you, whether or no that work lies in cure of souls." Such a conception, however just and true, is one of the nineteenth century, not of the fourteenth.

And, secondly, the vicarial system—that is, the system of working by deputy—was so firmly rooted in the English Church, that no man's conscience was shocked by it. Does it not actually still linger among us? Is it not dying a hard death at the end of this nineteenth century? Let us not be surprised then to find that at the end of the fourteenth, Wykeham could not feel that his holding so many prebends at once hurt any one, as long as his vicars were adequately remunerated for their services; and was not uneasy in keeping them all, though he never visited, and never intended to visit, the Cathedrals in person.

Wykeham
resided in
London.

Of course, although he was archdeacon of Lincoln, Wykeham's secular occupation kept him in London.¹ The king's Secretary and the Keeper of the Privy Seal was too important a personage to be allowed to reside within the bounds of a country archdeaconry. But he seems to have visited all the Churches within his archdeaconry in person.²

Wykeham's return to the bishop of London, giving the list of his benefices, is dated November, 1366; but earlier in the same year, his attention had been drawn to another subject.

At the summit
of royal favour;

He had by this time reached such a height in the king's

¹ "In civitate ac diocesi Londoniensi ratione officii sui predicti moram trahens, et ut constat larem fovens."—Reg. Langham, f. 12.

² "Verus valor et communis annuus ejusdem, si Archidiaconus personaliter visitet omnes Ecclesias Archidiaconatus sui, et solidas procuraciones percipiat ubique in pecunia immediata, se extendit in cccl libras sterlingorum."—Ib. id.

favour that there were no offices, either in Church or State, to which he might not reasonably aspire. Froissart's words, already quoted, give the prevalent impression which he had created at court: "He was so much in favour with the king that everything was done by him, and without him nothing was done."¹ We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that he would be consulted about the conferment of the very highest Church dignities; and that he might himself have aspired to be archbishop of Canterbury had he wished it.

When then the archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Islip, died on the 26th of April, 1366, it may fairly be presumed that Wykeham might have succeeded him, if he had chosen to do so. But there were obvious reasons for his shrinking from the dignity of Primate of all England. The chief of them was the close relation in which he would thus be brought with the pope. For almost three centuries the archbishop of Canterbury had also been the legate for life of the Roman see in England. This would have been an embarrassing position for such a nationalist churchman as Wykeham. He had hitherto been known as the king's right-hand man, the champion of the national Church; but he would be forced seriously to modify that position if he undertook the papal legateship for England. In fact, his career up to this time reminds us of nothing so much as the ante-episcopal career of a former archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket. He, too, had risen by the king's favour through the same sort of secular offices; he had been a general instead of an architect, it is true, but he had been besides a diplomatist, an archdeacon, and a chancellor. But on being forced against his own will into the archbishopric, he had turned right round, and become as devoted to the pope's service as he had been before to the

might probably
have been
archbishop of
Canterbury,

¹ Froissart, i, 249.

king's ; as devoted a churchman (in the only way in which, according to the conceptions of the time, he could become so) as he had before been a courtier. Now Wykeham, had he become archbishop of Canterbury, must have felt that if the change of position did not mean the becoming a churchman instead of a courtier, at any rate he would be expected by the pope to abandon his position as a nationalist churchman. And this he did not feel himself able to do.

but prefers the
bishopric of
Winchester.

Moreover, he seems to have looked forward to becoming bishop of Winchester. Winchester was, no doubt, dear to him in many ways. It was the capital city of his native county, not more than a dozen miles from his native village of Wickham. It was the scene where he had passed his boyhood and youth, and to its cathedral he was attached by no common ties of loving memory. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that he preferred Winchester to Canterbury; and perhaps may reasonably conjecture that he had made known his preference to the king, and that it was with a view to his advancement to Winchester that bishop Edingdon was recommended to the monks of the priory of Canterbury.

In pursuance of the king's recommendation, Edingdon was elected on the 10th of May ; but he declined to be moved. Winchester was richer than Canterbury, said some ; and they quoted a saying of Edingdon's that "though Canterbury was the higher rack, Winchester was the deeper manger." By others it is accounted for more simply, in a way more consistent with Edingdon's high character. He was already an old man, looking for the end of his life ; and he, perhaps, may have felt that Canterbury was no place for one in frail health and with failing powers, who in his new position would have to assume a new attitude in relation both to the king and to the pope.

In truth, he may have felt already that his days were numbered. He died on the 7th October, less than five months after his election to Canterbury.

The king on receipt of the news of his death lost no time in issuing the *congé d'elire* (October 13th), with a recommendation of Wykeham for the vacant see of Winchester. The prior of St. Swithun's (Hugh de Basing) assembled his monks accordingly, and elected Wykeham. This election was confirmed by the king, "with incredible joy of heart,"¹ on the 24th of October. But there was still much to be done before he could be consecrated and put into possession of his see. The pope's consent was necessary, as well as the monastery's and the king's.

Nominated
thereto by kir
and elected t
monks of
priory;

But the popes had for generations been contesting the rights of episcopal appointments with the kings. For the last hundred and fifty years this had been one of the principal sources of irritation between them. The popes had constantly since the beginning of the century appointed to bishoprics by way of reservation and provision; *i.e.*, *reserving* the next appointment during the life-time of the late bishop by secret bull, and *providing* his successor by the publication of the bull after the vacancy. The controversy for the time had been closed by Edward III's proclamation of 1343, followed by the decided language of the statute of Provisors in 1351. But, in spite of this, a compromise had been found, which saved the dignity both of king and pope. The pope was allowed to retain in his own hands the nomination to sees vacant by translation, which he could

the pope also
demurs.

¹ "Qua electione regi præsentata cujus auctoritate roboraretur, ut ei suffragator in expediendis existeret, ultra quam credi potest gavisus est, et lætatum est cor suum. Gratias igitur egit Deo qui talem super suum gregem elegit pastorem, in totius regni et præcipue diocesis Wintoniensis consolationem, quem ab ipso Domino, plebe nesciente quod fecit, nullus dubitaret electum."—Heath, 6. Just before this, Heath gives a graphic account of Wykeham's hesitation when the episcopal dignity was offered to him. He knew that it would be likely that he should offend the king if he were an upright bishop, and he shrunk from the contamination of the court; but his comfort lay in thinking that he had not put himself forward.

multiply at his own pleasure. But when a see became vacant by death, the king sent, with the *cong   d'elire* to the chapter, a letter nominating the person to be chosen ; and also a letter to the pope, requesting that the same person might be appointed by papal provision. The successive popes felt the wisdom of submitting, indemnifying themselves, meanwhile, by their unfettered choice in cases of vacancy by translation.¹

There was, therefore, now no reason to doubt on the king's part that pope Urban would assent, as usual, to the consecration of Wykeham : and the king sent his formal letter of request² that he would provide his chaplain to the vacant see, and give the leave for his consecration. But Urban himself thought otherwise. He would, at least, demur to the consecration of a man who had shown himself so determined an anti-papalist. He would have, he well knew, to give in in the end ; but his consent should be wrested from him inch by inch.

Wykeham
treated as
bishop-elect ;

Accordingly, in England all took place according to precedent. Wykeham was treated as the bishop elect. In November, the prior and convent of St. Swithun ask him to request from the king a licence for them to purchase land of the value of £50 a year. This licence, no doubt, they would have asked of the bishop, had there been one ; or of the temporary guardian of the temporals of the see. But the king had assumed the temporals of the see on bishop Edington's death, and had not yet committed them to any guardian. This, however, he did on the 1st of December ; giving into Wykeham's hands, "for a certain large sum of money, which he paid in the king's chamber and presence, for the expediting of sundry arduous under-

made guardian
of the see by
the king.

¹ Stubbs, iii, p. 314.

² A rege tamen interpellatus [papa] administrationem episcopatus eidem contulit. *Ang. Sacr.* i, 317.

takings, the guardianship of the see of Winchester, which had been vacant since the death of William de Edingdon."¹

We must pause here to meet the objection which may obviously be raised as to Wykeham's conduct in this. Is not the payment of this large sum of money, it may be said, an ugly fact in the case; is it not morally, if not legally, simoniacal, and must we not be shocked with Wykeham for having consented to such an arrangement? The true reply is, that it was not legally simoniacal, as not having been given to purchase the bishopric, but only the temporary guardianship of the see. That it was, however, morally so may be granted at once; and if we are to judge by the rule of what would be thought right in the nineteenth century, we shall surely condemn Wykeham for it. But, again, we must observe that it would be an anachronism so to do. The king wanted money, and Wykeham had it in abundance; he did as he had often done before, and was often to do again; and so long as he was within the law, felt himself blameless for so doing. Had he lived five centuries later, he would, doubtless, have been more cautious lest it should be reported that he was buying the bishopric of the king.

But pope Urban was bent upon delaying his confirmation as long as possible, and yet doing it in the most courteous way. To this end, he addressed a bull to Wykeham,² calling him archdeacon of Lincoln and administrator as to spirituals and temporals of the Church of Winchester; that is, fully recognizing his late appointment by the king. He observes that in the lifetime of the late bishop he had reserved the appointment on the next

The pope confirms this appointment.

¹ "Rex, pro quadam magna pecuniæ summa, quam W. de Wikham archidiaconus Lincoln in camera regis et præsentia ejus pro expeditione arduorum negotiorum præmanibus solvit, concessit eidem custodiam episcopatus Wintoniensis vacantis a tempore mortis Willelmi de Edingdon. 1 Dec. 40 Edw. III."—MS. Harl. 6960, f. 75.

² From Avignon, December 11th, 1366. Quoted in Lowth, App. No. V.

occasion of the vacancy, and thereby made the appointment of a successor by any other whomsoever null and void ; and now that it is vacant he is seeking to provide a worthy successor. "You," he says, "are commended to us by many trustworthy witnesses for your knowledge of literature, uprightness of life and habits, prudence in spiritual and guardedness in temporal matters. We therefore by the advice of our brethren ordain, constitute, and depute you to be"—what? not bishop of Winchester, but—"administrator of the said Church in spirituals and in temporals during the pleasure of the apostolic see."

Surely, such a laudatory preamble might have been expected to carry another conclusion ; and, as a matter of fact, this was just such a preamble as did usually precede the licence for the consecration of a bishop. It looks as if the king and Wykeham had been expecting that the pope would despatch the business in the ordinary way. But Urban was not to be forced to go faster than he would. This was as much as he would yield at the present moment—this confirmation of the action which the king had already taken, in the appointment of Wykeham to be the temporary administrator of the see. It will be observed that the bull made him no more than what the opening address had declared him already to be—administrator of the spirituals and temporals. There was a quarrel of long standing about these words. The popes denied that the kings could give the spirituals ; the kings denied that the popes could give the temporals : yet both the popes and kings claimed to give both these things. And so the bull may be interpreted as an address to one who, by courtesy, may be styled administrator of both, since he has been made so by another ; and a confirmation of him in the title, by him who alone can make an administrator of both.

It had not been usual for the popes to interfere in

the appointment of the temporary administrators of things spiritual in the vacancy of bishoprics. That was usually left to the archbishops of the province. But in this case there had been no archbishops of the province to do it, until on November 4th bishop Langham of Ely had received the pall; and Urban, perhaps, thought this a good opportunity to assert a new right of interference with elections. At any rate, he was not sorry to disappoint both the king and his nominee, who had taken such a forward part against the claims of the papacy, in their expectations.

The king seems to have been perplexed as to how to proceed. He was probably indignant, and might have done something in sudden passion had not Wykeham been at his right hand to counsel him to proceed cautiously, and by no means to outstep the law.

First, by an instrument dated February 22nd, 1367, archbishop Langham gave Wykeham¹ the spirituals of the see of Winchester, till the appointment of a successor—exactly as the pope had done. It is probable that Wykeham's caution suggested that this step should be taken. In spite of the pope's interference, the usual course was followed; and the archbishop's instrument was held to be necessary to authorize Wykeham, the bishop elect, to act as administrator of the see for the time.

Archbishop
Langham giv
him the spiri-
tuals of the s
for the time.

Wykeham was in London when this was done, and received the archbishop's mandate by messenger from Lambeth at the house which he was occupying as Privy Seal. He wrote the same day² (February 22nd) to his beloved in Christ, John Worminghall, making him his commissary to institute to benefices. But in this letter,

¹ *Ang. Sacr.* i, 317.

² *Reg. Wykeham*, i, f. 1. John Worminghall, canon of Salisbury, was elected bishop of Salisbury by the chapter 1375, but set aside by the pope in favour of Ralph Erghum. *Rich. Jones, Fasti Sarisb.* p. 94.

though he recites at full length the pope's bull of the December previous from Avignon, he says no word of the conferment of the spirituals on him by archbishop Langham that very same day.

The king sends
to entreat the
pope to con-
firm him,

by the duke
of Bourbon.

And, secondly, the king seems to have sent a messenger to the pope, who was on the point of leaving Avignon for Rome, begging him to give the see of Winchester to Wykeham. We are told by Froissart¹ that his messenger in this delicate business was no other than the duke of Bourbon, who had been a prisoner in England, but had been permitted to return to Paris. We must receive Froissart's testimony in such a matter with caution, but it probably represents fairly enough what was the current gossip of the French and English courts. His account is as follows :—

“When the chancellorship and bishopric were vacant, the king of England, at the instruction and prayer of the said Sir William [Wican], wrote to the duke of Bourbon, asking him, for the love of him, to take so much trouble as to go before the Holy Father Urban to get for his chaplain the bishopric of Winchester: and he promised to be very courteous to him as to his imprisonment. When the duke of Bourbon saw the messengers of the king of England, and his letters, he was much rejoiced thereat. So he showed the whole affair to the king of France, and what the king of England and Sir William were begging. The king counselled him to go before the pope. So the said duke departed with all his array, and made so much haste in his journey that he soon came to Avignon, where pope Urban resided for the time (for he had not yet taken his departure for Rome); to which Holy Father the duke of Bourbon made his prayer. The pope assented to it, and gave to the said duke the bishopric

¹ Froissart, i, 249.

of Winchester, to do with it what he liked ; and promised that if he found the king of England courteous and amiable as to the composition for his deliverance, he should be very willing that the said Wican should have the said bishopric. On this, the said duke of Bourbon returned to France, and, afterwards, to England, and negotiated for his deliverance before the king and his council, at the same time showing them the bulls. The king, who loved the said Wican much, did all that he wished ; and thus the said duke of Bourbon was set at liberty, for the payment of twenty-five thousand francs, resigning the bishopric of Winchester to the said Sir William."

So reports Froissart. And he may very possibly be right in one of his main facts—that the duke of Bourbon was sent to Avignon to plead for the bishopric of Winchester for Wykeham. Perhaps we need not suppose that this was the *only* business on which he went to Avignon to serve the king of England. He may also have been entrusted with some secret mission about Prince Edward, who was just then setting out for Spain with his ill-fated army.

At any rate, he is right as to the ransoming of the duke of Bourbon, which took place a year later, on the payment of 40,000 crowns as ransom, in four instalments.¹

But he is not right as to the immediate compliance of the pope with the king's wish. On the contrary, the pope did nothing at all at the time. He may, possibly, have promised at this time what he performed some months later ; we cannot, of course, tell what conciliatory words he used. But it looks as if he were bent on holding out as long as possible, in order to make king Edward feel that he was not lightly going to consent to the episcopation of a man who had been such a forward anti-papalist, and who

The pope procrastinates,

¹ See receipt for the first instalment, Jan. 28, 1368. Rym. vi, p. 585.

had been actually prosecuted in the papal court for a canonical offence. He made no sign, except possibly a secret one, at this time ; and for the next few months, his time and attention were taken up by his journey to Rome.

For Urban V was bent on returning to Rome, which had been his secret object ever since his consecration to the popedom. He was a Frenchman, it is true : but even before his election he had longed for a pope who should restore the seat of St. Peter to Italy. Urgent invitations to return came from Rome ; the cardinals in vain attempted to stop him ; and were compelled in spite of their murmurings to accompany him into Italy.

and meanwhile
returns to Italy.

The cortège embarked at Marseilles on April 20th ; it was at Genoa on Ascension Day ; at Corneto by Whit Sunday ; at Viterbo in July. During his stay in Viterbo, which he prolonged in preparation for his public entry into Rome, Urban had time to think of Wykeham. Perhaps he was not displeased to have let so long an interval elapse before confirming king Edward's choice for the see of Winchester. On July 14th he issued two bulls, dated from Viterbo.

Issues from
Viterbo (1) the
bull of provi-
sion ;

The first is the long-delayed bull of provision. Wykeham records its date and substance in the title to his Episcopal Register : " Here ¹ begins the Register of the acts and deeds of the Reverend Father Sir William de Wykeham, to whom a provision by way of reservation was given concerning the bishopric of Winchester, by Urban the Fifth of happy memory, pope by divine providence, under date of Viterbo, the second day before the Ides " [the 14th] " of July, in the fifth year of his reign " [1367].

(2) the leave for
consecration.

The second is the leave for consecration. It is addressed

¹ " Incipit Registrum de actis et gestis Reverendi patris domini Willelmi de Wykeham, cui de Episcopatu Wyntoniensi per felicis recordationis Urbanum divina prudentia papam quintum per viam reservationis fuit provisum, sub datu Viterbii, ii Idus Julii, pontificatus sui anno quinto. "—Title to Reg. Wykeham.

to William, bishop elect of Winchester :¹ and that it is so is significant, for it shows that pope Urban was willing to recognize, what we might have expected him to have forborne to recognize, the election by the monks of St. Swithun nine months before. When the pope had last written to him, in the December of the last year, Wykeham had been bishop elect of Winchester as much as now ; but then Urban had not chosen to recognize the fact, but had addressed him as administrator of the see of Winchester.

It proceeds to set forth that he long since² had designated him for the bishopric of Winchester, and refers to his bull of provision for a testimony to the fact.³ Considering that the bull of provision was written on the same day, the pope's intention to which it bears witness was not of very long standing. The bull then gives the formal leave to be consecrated.

It will be seen that we cannot wholly adopt the view of Lowth, that the contentions between the king and the pope, on the general question of the appointments to bishoprics, were the reason of the long delay in Wykeham's entering on his see. We believe that the pope had reason, and let us own he had just reason, to be afraid of Wykeham. Not on the general grounds of morality or learning ; the words of the bull appointing him administrator forbid that idea. But he knew him to be a nationalist churchman to the backbone. He remembered the time when Wykeham had been prosecuted at Rome. He remembered that he had been preferred to half the ecclesiastical preferments in the realm. He remembered his own bull against pluralism a very few months before, and how it had been levelled at Wykeham. He strove to put off the evil day, when he must consent to this appointment, at least as long as he

Reasons for
the pope's
hesitation.

¹ Reg. Wykeh. i, f. 8.

² "Pridem."

³ Reg. Wykeh. i, f. 8. (cit. Lowth, p. 40 n.)

could. So, first, he only appointed him administrator of the see. When his leave was personally asked by the Duke of Bourbon, he may have promised for the future, but he gave no present sign. The king and Wykeham might wait his convenience. And so he set out for Italy, and it was July before he gave the required licence.

Wykeham
made Chan-
cellor, Sept.
17th,

This can hardly have reached England before September, allowing for the slow rate of travelling of those days. Wykeham fixed the tenth of October (the translation of St. Ivo) for his consecration; but, meanwhile, there was another ceremony to be gone through. On September 17th the king committed to him the Great Seal. He seems to have been unwilling to make him Chancellor till the dispute was absolutely settled, and the pope had given his leave. It would be awkward to have a Chancellor who was not a member of the House of Lords. But now there was no reason for delay, and the ceremony took place at once. The archbishop of Canterbury resigned the Great Seal, which was placed in Wykeham's hands.¹

consecrated
bishop of
Winchester,
Oct. 10th.

And then followed the consecration in St. Paul's Cathedral, on October 10th, by archbishop Langham of Canterbury, assisted by bishops Simon Sudbury of London, and Robert Wyvill of Salisbury. Four days later Wykeham writes from Southwark (of which palace he had already taken possession, instead of his house north of the Thames, which he had occupied as Keeper of the Privy Seal), a letter to pope Urban to inform him of what had happened. He calls himself the pope's devoted and humble creature, William by divine providence bishop of Winchester, and assures the pope that he humbly kisses his blessed feet. Then he recited the pope's brief to him, giving him leave to

¹ Who kept the Privy Seal at first under Wykeham I cannot find. In 1370 one Peter Lacy was first clerk to the Keeper (July), and then Keeper of the Privy Seal himself (October).—Brantingham's *Issue Roll*, pp. 217, 290.

be consecrated ; and informs him that, in pursuance of this, Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, "chosen by me for this purpose," with the assistance of the bishops of London and Salisbury, on Sunday, the 10th October, in the "ecclesia major" of London, "according to the Church's accustomed form, bestowed on me the gift of consecration, and afterwards received my oath of obedience to the Roman see, which I took upon God's holy gospels, saying these words : 'So help me God, and these holy gospels of God.'" He concluded by begging the pope to insert this letter among the apostolical documents.

Two days before this—on October 12th—Wykeham received the temporals of the see of Winchester from the king.¹ He was no doubt required on this occasion, as was always the case, to "renounce the offensive words" in the pope's bull of provision. This meant that the popes professed in their bulls of provision to be conferring both the spirituals and the temporals of the sees they provided to. The kings demurred to the popes' right to appoint to temporals ; and the bishops, for generations past, had been in the habit of declaring that they had nothing to do with the "offensive words," and renounced what such words pretended to convey. On this the kings gave them the temporals of the see, which they had kept since the death of the last incumbent. On this occasion the king conveyed the temporals by letters patent, and it is noticeable that they were directed to "William, bishop of Winchester, by the pope's provision ;"² thus returning the courtesy whereby the pope addressed his leave for consecration to "William, bishop elect of Winchester."

Receives
temporals from
the king,

In entering upon his bishopric and chancellorship,

and letters of
acquittance as
to secular
offices.

Rym. vi, p. 574.

² Lowth, p. 47.

Wykeham, of course, gave up his old positions, both in church and state.¹ With regard to the latter, lest he should be exposed to the malice and detraction of enemies, such as afterwards gave him serious annoyance with regard to the chancellorship, he took the precaution of obtaining letters patent from the king, containing a full acquittance and discharge with regard to the offices held by him in times past. This document² is dated May 22nd, 1368, and pardons all debts hitherto contracted, acquits him of demands of money or jewels, and releases him from all actions whatsoever that can be brought against him.

Enthroned in
his Cathedral,
July 9th, 1368.

One thing more was necessary in order to put him in full possession of his see, and that was that he should be enthroned in his Cathedral. But this, for some reason which we cannot certainly determine now, he put off for nine months after his consecration. Perhaps it was that the fabric of the Cathedral was undergoing repairs at the hands of the late bishop's executors. We cannot tell. But whatever be the reason, it was not till July 9th, 1368, that he was enthroned.

The ceremonies of his enthronization are minutely described³ at the beginning of his Register. It was the privilege of the archdeacons of Canterbury to enthrone the suffragan bishops of the province. The archdeacon of Canterbury at the time was cardinal Peter Roger. He made Raymund Pilgrim⁴ his proctor; and Raymund issues a commission, on June 12th, to Thomas de Pechy, abbot of Hyde, near Winchester, the abbot of Chertsey, Master William Askeby, archdeacon of Northampton, and Sir

¹ He gave up the wardenship of the lands round Windsor to Thomas Cheyne, constable of Windsor Castle.—Abbrev. Rot. Orig., ii, p. 294. Also his wardenship of Haccunby to John Rippingale,—id., p. 302.

² Lowth, p. 517, citing Rot. Pat. 42 Ed. III.

³ Reg. i, fol. 1.

⁴ Raymund Pelegrim (or Pilgrim) was now canon of Anjou; he had been prebendary of Bishopstone (1343) and of Highworth (1352) in Sarum Cathedral, and Master of St. Cross (1345-46).

William Moulsoe, dean of St. Martin le Grand,¹ requiring them to enthrone and instal William, bishop of Winchester, according to custom. Canon Raymund also sent, with the commission, a programme containing minute directions as to the customs sanctioned by tradition on such occasions. These directions were strictly followed in the present instance. Wykeham came to the church of St. Lawrence,² which is close to the cathedral, in his everyday clothes; then, having made his devotion, he took off his cape, gloves, hat, and boots, which the servant of the archdeacon of Canterbury seized as his master's perquisite, and robed himself instead in his pontificals. Then he was conducted, thus fully vested, along the churchyard, through the west door of the Cathedral (lately rebuilt by Bishop Edingdon), and through to the bishop's throne in the choir. To this the archdeacon of Northampton led him, and then "reverently embraced him," and said: "By the authority of Christ's Church of Canterbury, I induct and enthrone thee, Sir William, duly elected, confirmed, and consecrated to be bishop of this Church, into possession of the same, with all rights and purtenances thereof: the Lord keep thy going in and thy going out, from this time forth for evermore." The archdeacon then seated Wykeham on his throne, and the precentor began to chant the "Te Deum;" after which the newly-installed bishop celebrated the High Mass.

¹ Askeby and Moulsoe were both successors of Wykeham in offices which he had held. Askeby was chancellor, Moulsoe chief chamberlain of the Exchequer at this time.

² "In aliqua ecclesia val domo ecclesie sue Cathedrali contigua" are Pelegrin's words. But the Church of St. Lawrence has always been used as the Church for "inducting" the bishops of Winchester.—Cf. Woodward's *Hampshire*, i, p. 367, note 1.

CHAPTER IV.

WYKEHAM'S FIRST CHANCELLORSHIP.

A.D. 1367—1371.

Feeling against
a clerical
ministry, such
as Langham's,

THE rejection of the pope's claim to tribute in 1366—
all but unanimous as it was—must have materially
strengthened the hands of Langham's ministry for other
works besides that of opposition to the pope, by making
them popular with the country. It was not before it
was needed. A feeling had been growing among a certain
section of the people, almost certainly fostered by a certain
section at court, against the employment of a clerical
ministry as such. Now, the Langham ministry was
exclusively composed of clerics. The feeling had not
been unknown before. In 1346 the king, discontented
with his clerical advisers, had exchanged them for laymen ;
but after a four years' experiment, he was forced to revert
to a clerical ministry. The clerical life alone afforded
opportunities for acquiring learning of any sort, whether
metaphysics, law, or languages. And to be a cleric was not,
at least in the conception of that time, to be professed,
so as not to be capable of undertaking in addition the
functions of a judge, a legislator, or a statesman.

But there was a small party who thought otherwise ;
and one of its first exponents was John Wiclif, the king's
chaplain, who had written so convincingly on the subject of
the papal tribute. We recognize now that he was right,
and that the feeling is a right feeling. It means nothing

else than that the clergy are exclusively to occupy themselves with the things of God. But it was in the generation about which we are speaking that this modern feeling was born. It would not have had a chance of growth, had it not allied itself with the feeling of the party which was anti-clerical on other grounds. And, though it had some small success, yet the feeling was premature. It did not prevail till the Reformation, and that was full two hundred years off.

Wykeham's ministry was simply a continuation of Langham's. It was equally a ministry composed of clerics, and it carried forward the same anti-papal policy. Nay, though Langham had resigned his office of Chancellor, he was still a chief adviser of the king, and still did as much as was consistent with the duty of a working archbishop. But Wykeham was the nominal head of the ministry: and the king, through his friendship with Wykeham, was well understood to be behind all its acts.

and Wykeham's.

But Edward III had passed his zenith. He had begun the fifth and the last decade of his reign. He was still but a middle-aged man—only fifty-five years old; but his reign had already made its full mark, and its remaining ten years did but heighten the contrast with what he once had been. The magnificence with which his reign had begun had degenerated into luxury. The success of his wars was absolutely over. His popularity, which had been dependent on the frankness and geniality of his manner, was on the wane with his military successes. There was very little sympathy between him and the body of the nation, when once the sympathy of success was over. The right of purveyance, or of seizing goods for the king's use on his journeys—often, without payment of any kind—was never more shamelessly abused than now. "At your coming, men are sad," boldly wrote archbishop Islip to him, "and hide their ducks and hens, and the rest of their goods; no

The king becomes unpopular.

wonder there are lamentations and sighs when you come near."

His sons,
Edward prince
of Wales ;

His three eldest sons, the dukes—for Edward, in his desire to keep the family together, had created a new dignity—were all out of England in the year 1367. With Edward, the prince of Wales, Wykeham had had no opportunity of becoming intimate. But six years younger than Wykeham himself, he had already been for two years in the French wars when Wykeham joined the court at Windsor. He had been in France almost continuously till the peace of Bretigni in 1360, and had gone with the title of prince of Aquitaine to reside at Bordeaux in 1362, carrying with him as his wife Joan of Kent, his father's first cousin. She had brought him two sons—Edward, who died five years afterwards, and Richard, the ill-fated successor of his grandfather, born in 1366. The year of Wykeham's accession to the chancellorship (1367) was the turning point in prince Edward's career. In February, he had crossed the Pyrenees to re-establish Don Pedro on the throne of Castile. This was successfully done by the battle of Navarrete in April ; but since then, the fickle Pedro had broken all the promises which he had made, disease had spread in the English ranks, and Edward had re-crossed the Pyrenees in June, invalided by the illness from which he never recovered, but of which he died, after a lingering illness of ten years.

Lionel duke of
Clarence ;

The second and third sons of the king were much younger. Lionel was only nine, John only seven, when Wykeham first came to court ; he probably, therefore, knew them as young men much better than he knew their brother Edward. Lionel had been in Ireland since 1361, when he was sent there as lord lieutenant, and created duke of Clarence. His administration had been severe, but on the whole successful ; he had just lost his wife, an Irish

heiress, who left one infant daughter, Philippa ; who afterwards transmitted to the house of York her father's right to the crown, in preference to the offspring of his younger brother, duke John of Lancaster.

Duke John of Lancaster plays a larger part in English history than his brother Lionel, and particularly in the history of Wykeham. He had married the daughter of Henry, duke of Lancaster, and on the death of his father-in-law in 1362, he was created duke of Lancaster instead. His son Henry—afterwards Henry IV—had been born in 1366, at Bolingbroke. He had been with his brother Edward in Guienne, had with him marched into Spain, and fought at the victorious but disastrous battle of Navarrete.

John duke of Lancaster.

The most anxious question of the day was the amount of hold which the English were to retain over France. In estimating the precise share of blame which attached to the two countries for their renewal of war between them, it must always be remembered that France had everything to gain by a renewal of the war. She had consented to the peace of Bretigni, with the tacit understanding—who can doubt it?—that there should be war again as soon as she was strong enough. Through the cautious and astute policy of her king Charles V, such seemed to be on the point of being the case. But neither the English king nor the English ministry seem to have thought so. Prince Edward, in Guienne, measured the situation more truly, and repeatedly warned his father of the threatening state of affairs. But while Charles punctually paid the instalments of his father's ransom, and spoke courteously and considerately, Edward would pay no heed. The French king was biding his time ; and, meanwhile, was prompt to take advantage of every false move of the English. Unhappily, the first false move was made by prince Edward himself. In order not to be obliged to dismiss without pay the

French wish to renew the war.

companies who had followed him into Spain, he levied a hearth tax upon all the inhabitants of Guienne. The impolicy of the proceeding was strongly urged upon him by his older advisers; but he saw no chance but to insist. The Guiennois appealed to king Charles at Paris, as their feudal suzerain. The English complained loudly that all feudal rights over Guienne had been ceded by the peace of Bretigni. Charles felt the game in his own hands, but as yet made no move.

Parliament
(1368) opened
by archbishop
Langham.

The parliament of this year (1368)¹ was opened on Thursday, the fourth of May, by the chief minister himself, archbishop Langham of Canterbury, who assured the lords and commons that the king thanked God for giving him victory over his enemies, and enabling him to maintain peaceable and quiet governance of his people.

It was not yet, at this time, the settled custom which it became soon afterwards, that parliaments should be opened by a speech from the Chancellor. Since the beginning of the reign, we only find two² occasions on which the Chancellor had taken this leading part till 1363. In that year, and ever since, Simon Langham had done it, being bishop of Ely and Chancellor. It was, therefore, natural that he should do it again, though he was no longer Chancellor, and had been promoted from the bishopric of Ely to the archbishopric of Canterbury. But we can well believe that Wykeham, the actual Chancellor, was busy with other and more sacred matters, and did not care to supersede his chief in secular politics. Nay, we may go further, and conjecture that it would have continued to be so, had not

¹ Bishop Barnet of Ely was succeeded this year (1368) at the Treasury by Thomas Brantingham, afterwards bishop of Exeter. He it is whose Issue Roll for the year 1370 has been published in the Rolls Series.

² 1331 and 1344. In 1347 and 1348, it was opened by Sir William Thorp, Chief Justice; in 1351, 1353, and 1354, by Chief Justice Shreshill; in 1355, by Sir Walter Manny; in 1362, by Chief Justice Green.

the pope astutely offered Langham a cardinal's hat, in the summer of 1368. Langham accepted it, perhaps hoping thus to be able to promote peace between the king and the pope. But the king's wrath suddenly blazed forth against the traitor who, as it seemed to him, had deserted his party for that of the pope. His acceptance of the cardinal's hat had, by the common law, vacated the archbishopric of Canterbury; and the king seized the temporals of the see, as if on the death of its incumbent, and nominated bishop Whittlesey of Worcester to succeed him. The pope's consent was obtained in October, and Whittlesey received the pall from Wykeham's hands, in Lambeth chapel, on April the 19th following.

The pope makes him a cardinal, and thus withdraws him from England.

Thus the only effect of the pope's move had been to withdraw Langham altogether from the service of the English court. But it cannot be doubted that this was to the advantage of Charles and the French. Langham's experienced counsel was withdrawn, just at the critical moment when he might have foreseen that Charles' conduct would end in war. Wykeham, with far less experience, was left alone at the head of affairs at the moment of the outbreak of a war, which might have been prevented had he possessed the requisite foresight.

Another fortunate circumstance for Charles was that many of the French hostages whom Edward had detained at Calais, had, on one pretext or another, put themselves beyond the power of the English. The most important of these were four princes of the blood, called by the English the lords of the fleur de lys: the duke of Orleans, the king's uncle; the dukes of Anjou and Berri, his brothers; and the duke of Bourbon (also, in right of his father, count of Ponthieu), his distant cousin, but also his brother-in-law. Of these, the duke of Anjou broke his parole and joined the French army in 1363. The duke of Orleans was liberated

Lords of the fleur de lys allowed to return to France.

in return for the cession of certain lands in Poitou to Thomas, king Edward's youngest son, afterwards duke of Gloucester. The duke of Bourbon was sent, as we have already seen, to Avignon in 1367, and allowed to ransom himself. And the duke of Berri was permitted to return to France in 1368 for a year. Having recovered these four relations of his own, Charles could afford to sacrifice the rest of the hostages when the moment arrived for the declaration of war. The easiness of Edward and his ministry was clearly no match for French craft.

Charles V summons Prince Edward to Paris.

By the beginning of the next year, 1367, Charles judged that the time was ripe for throwing off the mask. He therefore sent a summons, dated the 25th January, to Edward, "prince of Wales and Guienne," summoning him to appear in Paris, on the 1st of May, to hear judgment pronounced by his feudal superior on certain grievances alleged against him by sundry barons and knights of Guienne. Prince Edward, in a transport of rage, declared that he would attend the summons, but at the head of 60,000 men. The die was now in reality cast. War was imminent, and an offer of the English king to renounce all claim to Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, provided Charles would equally renounce all right to sovereignty over Guienne, determined the French king on war. But yet he hesitated to declare it; and the English king and council, of which Wykeham was at the head, refused to believe that he would declare it, and did not take the necessary precautions against it.

There was little doubt which was the most assailable point in Edward's French dominions. Besides the English provinces to the south-west, Poitou and Guienne, in which prince Edward commanded, there were two small spots on the north-west coast which were English and not French. The northernmost and the smallest of these was Calais and

its immediate neighbourhood. To the south of Calais, with the county of Artois between, lay the little county of Ponthieu, with Abbeville for its capital. After the war had recommenced, it was recognised that had Abbeville received English reinforcements in time, Ponthieu would have been safe. But the governor of Ponthieu, Sir Nicholas Louvain, a knight in whom Edward had every confidence, did not ask for reinforcements ; and so the opportunity was lost.

Thus arrived the 1st of May, the day which the summons to the prince of Wales had fixed for his appearing at Paris. He was known to have been preparing to execute his threat of appearing there at the head of an army ; but was known also to be quite unable, from illness, to mount a horse or take the field in person. The time had come for action on the part of Charles. By the advice of his peers, he rejected the English proposal, and sent a "kitchen varlet" to Westminster to declare war. It is said still to have been unexpected by the English : now that it was declared, they lost no time in despatching an expedition in aid of Ponthieu. But before it had sailed from Dover, the news of disaster came. Charles had waited till he calculated that his defiance would be received : and then he let loose his army on Ponthieu. Abbeville and other towns opened their gates ; the English were defeated at Pont St. Remi ; the governor of Ponthieu was captured. and occupies Ponthieu.

In his first rage at hearing of this, Edward thought of executing his remaining hostages. Time brought wiser counsels, and he ransomed some for large sums of money. He called together his parliament at Westminster on June the 3rd, the first Sunday after Trinity ; and Wykeham, as Chancellor, addressed them in a speech, the substance of which is recorded for us in French (though it was spoken in English) in the Rolls of Parliament. It is noticeable that Parliament summoned June 3rd,

Wykeham omits the taking of a text from scripture, with which the clerical Chancellors had hitherto been in the habit of beginning ; the emergency was too grave for any but the most businesslike words.

and opened by
Wykeham.

He began¹ by referring to the good advice which the lords and commons had always given the king in critical times. He reminded them of the peace of Bretigni, and that the promises on the part of France, of the delivery of certain lands and countries, and of the payment of a fixed sum of money, were still unfulfilled, notwithstanding that the king of England had, on his side, dropped the title of king of France. "Nevertheless," he went on, "our adversary hath entertained appeals from the count of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and others who are liege subjects of our lord the king in Guienne ; and, in virtue of these appeals, hath summoned the prince of Guienne to appear before him in Paris, on the first day of May last past, to answer to their appeals, in defiance of the terms of peace. And besides, he hath of late sent a great number of armed men and others, who ride as soldiers through the lands of our said lord the king in Guienne, and have taken by force towns, castles, and fortresses, and other places, which they still hold ; and have seized the liege subjects of our lord the king, killing some, and throwing others into prison, or holding them to heavy ransom. And further, he hath of late sent a great number of men to the demesne lands of the king, to Ponthieu, who have taken by force the towns, castles, and fortresses."

He proceeded² to inform them that prince Edward had sent special messengers to the king, advising him to retaliate by resuming the title of king of France, and that the king "charged the archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates to discuss this point, and give him their advice and counsel."

¹ Rot. Parl. ii, p. 299.

² Rot. Parl. ii, p. 300.

Three days afterwards, on Wednesday, June 6th, "the archbishop and prelates, having given mature deliberation to the charge they had received, with one accord answered and said, that our lord the king might, for the aforesaid causes, resume and use the title of king of France of right and good conscience. And to this agreed the dukes, earls, barons, and other lords and commons in full parliament. Which title of king of France the king resumed : and on the 11th day of June, the great Seal of the king was put away, and another Seal struck with the name of France resumed, and charters, patents, and briefs sealed therewith ; and all the other seals in other places belonging to the king were changed in like manner on the same day."

Title of king of France resumed by Edward.

Next day (June 7th), Wykeham went into detail upon the king's necessities, explaining that he was unable to furnish the war without the good aid of his lords and commons, praying them "to consider how he could best be helped to his own greatest profit, and the least damage and charge to his people."

The parliament, after due deliberation, concluded that they would give to the king a subsidy on wools, woolfells, and hides exported from England, of £2. 3s. 4d. on each dozen score of woolfells, and on each sack of wool ; and this was to be in addition to the smaller payments "by ancient custom," from those who were not native Englishmen. They also agreed, as a matter of precaution, to remove the staple from Calais, and to constitute several towns in England staples for the sale of wool.

Grant in aid of the war.

The two next days (Friday and Saturday) were taken up with hearing and answering the petition of the commons ; and on Sunday, June 10th, the Chancellor declared to the king the amount of the aid which the parliament had ordered ; and by the king's commandment, addressed them in the following strain. "Thanking them for their bounty,"

Wykeham thanks parliament for its bounty.

he said, "and wishing to make them some recompense, the king ordains, wishes, grants, and accords to all, of whatever degree, the fee-simple in whatever land they may recover for themselves of the French kingdom, reserving only the lands and rights taken from the king and the Church of France to the king and Church of England.

"Also, that the king prays all his prelates, that having regard to the great danger of invasion which the realm is in, they would array their subjects as well as themselves, and all religious persons whatever, to rebut the malice of his enemies, if perchance they wish to enter the realm. So the prelates granted that they would do, in aid and defence of the realm and the holy Church.

"And so departed the parliament."

Reinforced by the aid of his parliament, the king pushed on his preparations vigorously. He did everything but go himself to France, and head his own armies. But he was prematurely old, though not in years; and he never left England again.

English invade
Ponthieu and
Poitou.

The two invasions, of Ponthieu and Poitou, were met by two armies, one headed by Lancaster, the other by the earl of Cambridge (the youngest son of the king), and the young earl of Pembroke, the king's son-in-law. While the two latter made their way to Angouleme to the assistance of prince Edward, the former went to the relief of Ponthieu. But duke John was no general, and it was Charles's policy never to hazard a general battle. The two armies confronted one another for weeks in the valley of Tournehem, near Calais; at last, the duke of Burgundy broke up his camp, and retired without a battle. Cambridge and Pembroke, meanwhile, laid siege to Bourdeilles, which they took after a nine weeks' siege; but the French side gained important successes, which more than counterbalanced their losses to the English.

In the midst of this campaign, at Windsor, died queen Philippa. Her death took place after a short illness ; she took a touching farewell of the king, whom she begged to fulfil her wishes as to the disposal of her property in charity ; and so she expired on the 15th of August, 1369. She was deeply and widely lamented. Froissart lays the greatest stress on her charity : "So many good deeds had she done in her time, so many knights succoured, and ladies and damsels comforted, and had so largely departed of her goods to her people."¹ Bishop Wykeham, in one of the first circular letters on public affairs which he writes to his diocese, describes her² touchingly, as he must have known her well. "While she was on earth she practised, by busy deeds, the virtue of humility, so prominent from the other virtues in the sight of the strict Judge ; in the bestowal of alms, she opened her bountiful hand to the helpless, and extended her fingers to the poor. She was a kind and merciful helper to widows, minors, orphans, and others in distress ; a devout assister of holy church on behalf of the nation ; beloved by God and by men." Her death coincided, at least, with the king's decay both in material fortune and mental power. For his remaining ten years the record of his reign is a record of humiliation and shame.

Death of
Queen
Philippa.

The year 1370, therefore, opened amid gloomy prospects for England. In January, the greatest English general, Sir John Chandos, was killed in a skirmish at the bridge of Lussac on the Loire. The French king's brothers met in Paris to concert measures ; and their consultation resulted in an invasion of Guienne by the duke of Anjou, with Bertrand du Guesclin for the general of his army, and of the Limousin by the duke of Berri. To oppose them, Lancaster and Sir Robert Knollys brought detachments separately

English want
of success,
1370.

¹ Froissart, i, 273.

² Reg. iii, 23.

from England:¹ but the English want of success culminated in the treason of the bishop and garrison of Limoges, who declared for the French. Limoges had always been distinguished by prince Edward's special favour, and its bishop had been particularly trusted by him. He was transported with rage, took the field in person, and was carried in a litter to the walls of Limoges, which he took by assault after a month's siege. Then a terrible massacre began, and the prince, deaf to all appeals for mercy, punished the treason of the inhabitants with the indiscriminate murder of three thousand men, women, and children.

Prince Edward
returns to
England, Jan.
1371.

It was his last achievement. On his way to Bordeaux he heard of the defeat of Sir Robert Knollys, by Du Guesclin, at Pont Valin; almost at once on his arrival he lost his eldest son Edward, at the age of six. Shattered by disease and misfortune, he was advised to return to England. He assembled his barons and made them do homage and swear fealty to his brother John, and then sailed for England in January, 1371. He landed at Southampton, passed some days at Windsor with his father, and retired to his manor of Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire.

He found England in a state of murmuring and discontent, which had mainly been produced by his own ill success in the war. The people had been heavily taxed to sustain their armies in the field. If those armies had been victorious, they would have borne all, and more, cheerfully; but they felt the pinch of the taxation when fortune went uniformly against them. As usual, the first thing that occurred to them was to find fault with the

¹ On July 18th Wykeham made a loan of £2,000 for the king's necessities (p. 204); on September 15th, another of £316 for the wages of the sailors in the king's ships (p. 254).—Brantingham's *Issue Roll*, 1370.

ministry in power. We may gather what were the chief points of their complaint against them from the articles exhibited in accusation of bishop Wykeham six years later. They were, no doubt, the failure of the ministry to take due precautions against the loss of Ponthieu, and their consent to the release of the hostages. But all was summed up in the complaint that the ministers were clerks, and not laymen ; they said that clerks had their own work, but that the conduct of politics should be left to laymen.

While the commons were in this temper, it was found absolutely necessary to call a parliament. The liberal grants of 1369 had been sufficient hitherto to maintain the war ; now the expenses were outrunning the money voted for them, and it was imperative to obtain a further supply. In short, it was just an occasion such as the commons of England have never been slow to seize, when they could dictate their own terms in return for the grant they made.

On the 24th of February the king himself, with his Chancellor, and bishop Brantingham of Exeter, his Treasurer, met his lords and commons in the Painted Chamber at Westminster. After the parliament had been declared open, Wykeham addressed it as Chancellor. He began by reminding them of the advice given in the last parliament to prosecute the war, and the heavy drain of expense to which the king had been put. He told them that the preparations of the enemy were larger than ever, sufficient not only to reconquer all the French possessions of England, but to invade England also ; and this, he said, our adversary is urgent to do. "Wherefore the king requires, and charges the lords and commons here assembled, to advise him on the aforesaid points, and counsel him how his kingdom can be safely guarded, and the navy saved and maintained against the malice of his said enemies."

Parliament
summoned,
Feb. 1371,

and opened by
Wykeham.

For more than a month the subject was in debate ; for

Attack on the
ministry by
anti-clericals.

the required aid was not promised till the 28th of March. There is no detail of the proceedings, but we cannot doubt what was the character of them. The clerical ministry were being attacked by the anti-clericals, led by John Hastings, the young earl of Pembroke, the same who had held a command in France two years before. He, or another of his party among the lords, made use of a fable, which has been preserved to us. The monastic owners of property had laid a claim to be excused from the general payment of tenths to the king; on this was founded his attack on clerical property in general. "Once at a consultation of birds," he said, "the owl came without feathers, and, pretending to be shivering with cold, begged that the other birds would give her feathers. Moved with pity, each gave her one of her own; till she was covered with an unsightly load of feathers not her own. Down came the hawk for his prey: the birds, for defence or flight from its attacks, beg each for her own feather back from the owl. The danger was imminent, and each snatched her own feather back by force; and so escaped, leaving the owl more miserably featherless than before."¹ The moral of the fable is obvious. It was nothing but the old argument which has become so common and is so fallacious, that since the state endowed the Church originally, the state may, on sufficient occasion, resume the property which she gave.

Petition against
clerical
ministry,

At any rate, the following petition was enrolled on the records of parliament, as a result of the aforesaid debate:

"Because it has been shown to the king by the earls, barons, and commons of England, that the government of the kingdom has long been worked by men of holy church, who are not responsible to justice in every case, whereby great mischief and damages have happened and will again happen, . . . May it please the king that sufficient and able laymen of the same

¹ Wiclif, *De dominio civili*, ii, 1: cit. Shirley's *Fasciendus Zisaniorum*, p. xxi.

kingdom be chosen, and no other persons be henceforward made Chancellor, Treasurer, Clerk of Privy Seal, Chamberlain of Exchequer, Controller, or to fulfil any other office or government in the said kingdom. And that this be now so established, that it be no way defeated, or anything done to the contrary in future. Saving always to our lord the king the choice and removal of such officers, provided they be always laymen as aforesaid."

Thus, the gist of the whole complaint was that clericals were "not justiciable," or not men who could be made responsible to justice for what they did. No doubt, strictly speaking, this was the case according to law. Ever since Becket's time, bishops had, in their character of ordinary, withdrawn offending clerks from the king's courts to be tried by their own courts instead; and the bishops themselves—although, as barons, they were subject to the civil law by the Constitutions of Clarendon—had been, in practice, shielded by their spiritual character. Yet, even in this respect a change was impending, which cast its shadows before. Edward III's quarrel with archbishop Stratford had involved threats which in the result came to nothing: but his grandson, Henry IV, threatened all the bishops alike, and beheaded archbishop Scrope for treason. And in this respect Wykeham, with his usual keen foresight, had guarded against the possible consequence of disfavour by procuring the letters patent (already mentioned) discharging himself of all obligations prior to his entering on his bishopric. He felt that in the temper of the times less reverence than hitherto would be shown to a bishop who had offended the nation; and he was destined himself to be a conspicuous instance of this six years later than this time.

because "not
justiciable."

To the lords' and commons' petition, the king replied haughtily, "that he would ordain on this point as should seem to him best, with the advice of his good council." And, no doubt, consulting with his council, he consulted

Wykeham
resigns the
Chancellorship.

with Wykeham, the chief of his council. We only know the upshot of his consultation ; on March 4th, Wykeham resigned the Great Seal.¹ No promise for the future was made, such as the parliament had demanded ; at the present crisis, the king disbanded his ministry. There is no need to suppose—in fact, everything contradicts the supposition—that Wykeham was out of favour with the king. The king only bowed to the storm, and called laymen for a time to his ministry. Bishop Brantingham resigned the treasury, and a new Chancellor and Treasurer were appointed.² Their names prove from what quiver the shaft had come. Sir Robert Thorp, the new Chancellor, was the master of Pembroke Hall, at Cambridge, which had been founded, and still was regulated, by the earls of Pembroke. Sir Richard Scrope, the Treasurer, was the firm friend of duke John of Lancaster. This has led to the supposition that Lancaster was now, as later, opposed to Wykeham's ministry. But Lancaster was now in France ; and his share in this crisis was, probably, confined to a general approval of the acts of Pembroke, with whose political party he was usually identified.

The new
ministry
Lancastrian.

Grant in aid
of the war.

The ministry having thus been changed, the parliament, under their new Chancellor, proceeded to vote their aid to the king. On March 28th, they decided to grant to the king a subsidy of £50,000, to be levied in the following manner: from each parish throughout the land, on an average, 22s. 3d., so that the parishes of greater value should help to pay for those of less.

Having gained this aid, the king was in a hurry to

¹ The seals remained in Wykeham's custody till the 8th.

² Rym. Fœd. vi, p. 683. In this first chancellorship, Wykeham provided for two of his relations, *incertum quo gradu*. (1) Nicholas Wykeham, by procuring for him from the king (3rd February, 1370), on the death of the bishop of Exeter who usually presented, the prebend of Appledram in the Church of Bosham ; (2) Richard Wykeham, by procuring for him the prebend of Peasmarsh, in the royal free chapel of Hastings (1st October, 1371).

get rid of his parliament, and dispense with the help of his new ministers. On the same day, a single bill was passed for the establishment of a wool-staple at Melcombe ; and then the new Chancellor told the parliament that Easter was near, and that they could not hope to answer all the commons' petitions before that holy feast, but that those which had already been answered should be read, with their answers ; and that the king would ordain certain lords and others, after Easter, to consider the petitions not already replied to, and give them such answers as should reasonably suffice. Which was done ; and the king having thanked them for their aid, "so departed the parliament."

The council which was to supplement the proceedings of this parliament was summoned to meet at Winchester. Winchester was Wykeham's cathedral city, and, therefore, the choice of it for the session of the council is significant. To the council were summoned four bishops (Wykeham himself being one),¹ four abbots, six earls, and seven barons, and one of the members for each county or borough named in the writ as having been summoned to the last parliament.

Council at
Winchester.

They met on June 8th, the octave of Trinity Sunday. An unexpected difficulty had arisen. The number of parishes in England proved to be less than a quarter of what was expected ; the sum produced would be less than £12,500, instead of £50,000. Wykeham, probably, smiled at the perplexity of the new lay ministers, as he must have suspected beforehand that the number of parishes would not prove to be so great as was anticipated. And here were laymen trying their hand at levying a tax which had been purposely laid on ecclesiastical lines, in order to annoy the clergy. Wykeham himself had duly certified to the king the number and names of the benefices in his diocese ; and had issued a commission for the levying of the royal

Difficulty as to
assessment of
parishes,

¹ Reg. iv, f. 4. The summons to Wykeham is dated April 27th.

how solved.

subsidy of £50,000.¹ There could hardly have happened anything, which could have proved more plainly that laymen were not such adequate ministers as clergy. But the thing had happened, and the Chancellor was bound to find a remedy. He proposed that £5. 16s. be the sum to be levied from each parish, instead of only £1. 3s., and that the Church lands acquired since 1292 should not be exempt from the payment. This was agreed on without discussion; the rest of the business was hurried through, and the council dispersed.

Wykeham becomes a landed proprietor,

It was during his chancellorship that Wykeham first became a landed proprietor. In 1369 the king gave him the lands at Mickleham, near Dorking in Surrey, which had been forfeited for felony by John Apedale.² And in the same year, the king also granted him leave to endow the priory of Southwick with the manor of Boarhunt Herbelin, including lands in Southwick, Wanstead, Porchester, West Boarhunt, and Wymering, which all had belonged to the Boarhunt family.³

and founds a chantry in Southwick priory.

This instance of care for the priory of Southwick leads naturally to the mention of another (undated) foundation in the same priory. Aylward tells us⁴ that he founded in the Church at Southwick a chantry of five priests to pray for the souls of John and Sibill, his parents. We do not know when they died; but the statement in Aylward looks as if the gift occurred soon after the beginning of his episcopate; and thus it may have been about the same time with his thus endowing the priory with the manor of Boarhunt.

¹ Reg. iii, ff. 49, 53. The certificate to the king is dated May 23rd.

² MS. Harl. 6960, f. 89.

³ Abbrev. Rot. Original, ii, p. 304.

⁴ Aylward, 5.

CHAPTER V.

WYKEHAM'S EARLY EPISCOPATE.

A.D. 1367—1376.

WE have now to contemplate Wykeham in a different character. In the last chapter, we have seen him governing England under the king; we are now to see him organizing and ruling a great diocese. There can be no question as to which was the better done, or for which he was the most fitted.

Heath¹ strikes the key-note of his episcopate thus: Wykeham prepares to rule his diocese. "He was consecrated to be bishop of Winchester in 1367, in the 40th year of the reign of king Edward III, and the 43rd of his age. And now, in order to attain the grace of the Sacrament, as well as the Sacrament itself, he set himself to renew his old man, and clothed himself with the new man, which after God is created. And remembering what heights he had climbed, what as a layman he had neglected, he did his best to redeem the time. Wherefore, as if changed to another man, he set before himself this rule of life: to be on equal terms with his servants, humble to priests, kind to the people, compassionate to the wretched, bountiful to the needy. Considering that he was made the father of many nations, he thought that the truest step towards renewal must begin with himself, and that if he first learnt to rule himself, he would really be

¹ Heath, 7.

able to rule others in the right way. So he subdued his body, and brought it under servitude to God ; and so taught it to be the handmaid of the spirit." That there was such a searching of spirit at the time of his consecration, we may well believe ; and that then he reviewed his past life, and prayerfully resolved to dedicate himself anew to the service of God.

His Episcopal
Register.

Our chief authority upon the affairs of his diocese is his *Episcopal Register*, which is in a perfect state of preservation. It is formed of four large folio volumes ;¹ of which the first contains a list of institutions and collations to benefices, and confirmations of the heads of monasteries ; the second, the list of Orders conferred by him ; the third is more miscellaneous, and contains all his other official documents, such as letters to individuals or to the diocese, summonses to convocation, papal bulls, licenses of non-residence, etc. ; and the fourth contains royal despatches, with memoranda of the way in which they were answered.

Date of
consecration
1367
February

Until October, 1367, when he was actually consecrated, he managed the affairs of the diocese through his commissary, John Worminghall, whom we have seen him appoint in February. After his consecration, he made Worminghall his officary.

Charity on
consecration

Even before his consecration, Wykeham was, probably, the wealthiest commoner in England : but he was as open-handed and generous as he was wealthy. He began his charity at once upon his entrance into office, by remitting to the poor tenants on his manorial estates the acknowledgments which were due by custom to a new lord ; and his bounty in this particular cost him £502. 1s. 7d.²

He began, also, at once the practice, which was never

¹ Now bound into two volumes, and kept in Winchester Cathedral.

² The amount is given by Aylward, 4 ; the particulars by the (now lost) MS. Farnham. See Lowth, p. 300 n.

omitted during the thirty-seven years of his bishopric, of giving a dinner daily to twenty-four poor men or more.¹

He did not ordain in person in Lent 1368, but granted a commission to Gervase de Castro, bishop of Bangor, to do so instead of himself, in Winchester Cathedral.² The first ordination which he took himself was that at Trinity the same year, which he performed in his private chapel at Esher. Here he ordained ten acolytes, nine sub-deacons, seven deacons, and five priests.³ Bishop de Castro had admitted the unusual number of fifty-six acolytes in the spring; perhaps it was the new episcopate which induced youths to take minor Orders. The number of those admitted into the Holy Orders of deacons and priests during the year 1368 was sixty-five; which was the average number of such ordinations at the period.

First ordination.

The see of Winchester, to which Wykeham was now raised, was, in truth, as deep a manger as any in the kingdom. In right of his office, the bishop was the lord of sixteen manors, of which ten were within his own diocese.⁴ Three of these ten—Twyford, Meon, and [Bishop's] Sutton—appear to have had no manor house, or one insufficient to take in the bishop and his retinue. But in the other seven—Wolvesey, in Winchester; Southwark, near London; South [now Bishop's] Waltham, Farnham, [High] Clere, Esher, and Marwell—it was his intention to reside from time to time, when he was visiting the different parts of his diocese. Of these, Southwark, from its neighbourhood to London, was necessarily his most frequent residence.

Residences belonging to the see;

All these houses were much dilapidated when they came into Wykeham's hands. Bishop Edington's executors declared that "they were satisfied that the buildings, towers,

dilapidations paid on them,

¹ Aylward, ib.

² Reg. ii, 351.

³ Id. 352.

⁴ The other six were Downton and Wargrave, in Sarum; Taunton, in Bath and Wells; Bitton, in Worcester; Adderbury and Witney, in Lincoln.

walls, and closures in the castles and manors belonging to the see at the time of his death were in a ruinous state, and very unsafe, many actually prostrate to the level of the ground, and standing in the utmost need of repair." The sum payable for dilapidations was not finally paid for four years and a half. It consisted¹ of the stock belonging to the see in kind, exactly as bishop Peter des Roches had settled that payment should always be made by the executors of the late bishop to his successor, namely, cattle, 1,556; draught horses, 127; sheep (3,876 male, and 4,777 female), lambs, 3,521. Next, the dilapidations proper, consisting altogether of £1,814. 3s. 10d.:—an enormous sum for those days, and equal to almost £25,000 of our present money.

and repairs
executed.

Wykeham naturally delighted in architecture of all kinds; and he set to work without loss of time to repair these buildings. He bought the right of hewing stone from the quarries of siliceous limestone or rag at Quarr, near Binstead, in the Isle of Wight. On April 9th, 1371, he wrote² to all the incumbents of churches, and heads of religious houses in the Isle of Wight, begging them to supply workmen to hew the stone, and vehicles, carts, and carriages to haul it when hewn, all to be at his sole expense, under the superintendence of the abbot of Quarr Abbey. These repairs on the whole, including such as from time to time were necessary during his episcopate, are stated by Aylward to have cost not less than 20,000 marks, or upwards of £13,000.³

Repairs to his
Cathedral.

Two days before he wrote this circular to the ecclesiastics of the Isle of Wight, he wrote another document which shows that there was then going on some "new work" upon

¹ Lowth, p. 67 n, quoting MS. Farnham.

² Reg. iii, 47.

³ Together with the dilapidation money he received, this makes just about £200,000 of our present money, expended on buildings alone.

his Cathedral Church in Winchester. In this he complains that "certain whose names are unknown have stolen from their place stones hewn and unhewn, chalk, and cement, and sundry instruments for the new work of our Church aforesaid, which were got ready at great expense for the purpose of making good the building." He therefore **excommunicates** them, and forbids the sentence to be reversed unless they are at the point of death.¹ This was in April, 1371. We do not hear elsewhere of his touching his Cathedral till twenty-three years later; but this incidental notice proves that he had not been idle in the earlier years of his episcopate, but had at least executed some extensive repairs.

If we bear in mind that these letters, thus inaugurating a vigorous period of building, were written a fortnight after his resignation of the Great Seal, we shall, perhaps, see an indication of the relief with which he turned from matters of state to the architectural work for which he had been so famous.

In the spring of 1373 he made up his mind to a personal visitation of the whole of his diocese. He wrote a letter² from Southwark, on the 26th April, to the prior and brethren of his "beloved spouse, his Cathedral Church," telling them of his intention to visit the clergy and people committed to his charge, and summoning them on the 3rd of the next June. And in like manner he carefully went through the whole diocese, visiting in person³ not only the "clerus et populus," but also all the religious houses within it.

First visitation
of diocese,

He had declared to the prior of St. Swithun's that it was part of his pastoral office "to correct the erring, to extirpate the thorns of vices, and to stablish in the paths

¹ Reg. iii, 90.

² Reg. iii, fol. 47.

³ "Personaliter et actualiter."—Reg. iii, 99.

of justice the upright, and them that walk in the way of the Lord." This, therefore, he proceeded to do in September of the next year,¹ by the appointment of commissioners to reform the abuses which he had observed in his visitation of the year previous.

and of religious
houses.

A few of the principal religious houses he visited separately. Thus St. Thomas' hospital, in Southwark, he visited² in January, 1372; the hospital at Sandon in Surrey,³ in November, 1374.

But the most conspicuous example of his determination "wholly to extirpate the thorns of vices," was his thorough reformation of the hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, of which a detailed account must now be given.

Hospital of
St. Cross, near
Winchester.

The hospital of St. Cross, in the parish of St. Faith, and the suburb of Sparkford, near Winchester, was founded by bishop Henry de Blois, king Stephen's brother, in the year 1132. He founded it to support entirely "thirteen poor men, feeble and so reduced in strength that they can hardly or with difficulty support themselves without another's aid;"⁴ these were to be clothed, boarded, and fed. Also, a hundred other poor and indigent men were to have their dinner daily, and other acts of kindness done to the poor according to the ability of the hospital. To this object, he appropriated the tithes of twelve parishes in the diocese, two in that of Salisbury, and one in that of Lincoln, with other rents in Winchester;⁵ and in 1151, handed over his new foundation to the charge of Raymund, master of the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem.⁶

The next bishop of Winchester, Richard Toclive, added

¹ Reg. iii, 112.

² Id. 62.

³ Id. 116.

⁴ "... pauperes et imbecilles, ita viribus attenuati ut vix aut iniquius sine alterius adminiculo se valeant sustentare."—*Charter of Foundation*, quot. Reg. iii, 100.

⁵ Lowth, p. 74 n, from MS. Farnham.

⁶ Humbert's *Hospital of St. Cross*.

to the charity the benefaction of feeding another hundred of poor men daily. This extension of the original purpose of the foundation rendered it necessary—or, at least, useful—to maintain a new staff of officers ; and four priests, thirteen secular clerks, and seven choristers were introduced ; and payment, partly in beer and meat, given to them.

The charity long continued under the charge and administration of the Knights Hospitallers. Repeated quarrels, however, arose between them and the bishops of Winchester, as to the extent of their jurisdiction in the hospital : and, about 1200, commissioners from the pope pronounced sentence in favour of the bishops, who thenceforth appointed the masters independently of the knights.

And now began the regular periodical misappropriation of revenues, which is so tempting when an irresponsible head manages the affairs of a rich charity. In the year 1304, the new bishop of Winchester found that the then master, Robert Maidstone, had so considerably abused his trust, that he deprived him. It was the period of the mismanagement of such houses all over Europe. Within the next few years, however, pope Clement V issued a bull to remedy the misappropriation and waste which often occurred in the management of houses for the reception of strangers, leper-houses, almshouses, and hospitals ; in which he ordered that inventories of the goods of such places, and a yearly account of the administration, should be rendered to the Ordinaries. This is known as the constitution "*Quia contingit*."

Funds mis-
appropriated.

But within fifty years there was another crisis of the same kind, for in 1349 bishop Edingdon (himself a former master) presented his nephew, John Edingdon, to the mastership. His seventeen years' reign was a period of unequalled ruin to the real interests of the hospital. He continued master till his uncle was grown so old that there

John Edingdon
master,

exchanges with
Stowell,

was no reasonable expectation of his surviving more than a few months: and then, unwilling to face a new diocesan instead of his indulgent relative, he effected an exchange in 1366 with William Stowell. "By his manner of leaving this office we may pretty well judge how he had acted in it; he took away and alienated the whole stock belonging to the hospital: all the cattle, corn, goods, instruments, utensils, and moveables whatsoever, either in the house itself or upon the estates. Besides, the necessary repairs of dilapidations left by him amounted by computation to between three and four hundred pounds." ¹

and he with
Lyntesford,

But in less than two years the new master repeated the process of exchange:—he seems to have found St. Cross not so lucrative a post as he expected. In March, 1368,² the year after Wykeham's consecration, he effected an exchange with Richard Lyntesford. The exchange was allowed by Wykeham; but the next day he wrote to Stowell,³ who now had become rector of Burghclere, demanding from him an exact inventory of all the stock delivered to him by Edingdon, and by him to be transmitted to Lyntesford.

Stowell's reply⁴ was unsatisfactory, for it showed that the stock handed over to him by Edingdon was far less than it should have been. Wykeham (who probably knew well from common report who was the real offender in the case) granted a commission in April⁵ to enquire into the general state of the hospital property, and the amount of stock which, nineteen years before, had been delivered to Edingdon by the executors of the previous master. About the same time he issued a sequestration against the goods of Lyntesford, being resolved that he should not imitate Edingdon's example, but be held responsible for all the hospital stock as it came into his hands.

¹ Lowth, p. 81.

² March 22nd, 1368.

³ Reg. iii, 9. March 23rd, 1368.

⁴ Dated March 26th, 1368. MS. New Coll.

⁵ April 20th. Lowth, p. 82.

This seems to have convinced Lyntesford that he had nothing to gain by remaining master of St. Cross. The large expectations with which he had apparently entered on the benefice had been completely frustrated by the action of the previous masters. In the summer of 1369 he applied for an exchange with Roger Clown,¹ rector of Campsall, near Doncaster.² Wykeham, observing that "he himself was deeply occupied in various and arduous royal affairs," gives the archbishop of York power to effect the exchange. It will be remembered that this was just the crisis of the revolt in Ponthieu. It was perhaps owing to his pre-occupation with public affairs that he neglected to make enquiries as to Clown's real character; a character most unfit for the administration of a hospital which was already suffering from the unscrupulousness of its masters.

and Lyntesford again with Clown.

But, at first, his true character did not appear. Wykeham's commission, no doubt, reported upon the state of the hospital property for the last twenty years, and informed him by so doing of the embezzlements of Edingdon. He immediately issued another commission, dated 30th July, 1370,³ to John Worminghall, his officary, and two others, bidding them go to the spot, and examine witnesses, particularly the three last masters and the present one, and make a list of the stock, implements, etc., which ought to be in the inventory passed from a resigning master to his successors. Shortly after this, Lyntesford made his submission "simply and spontaneously," and obtained a relaxation of his sequestration.⁴

Commission to examine hospital property.

The next step in the matter came from Clown. He moved the bishop for an injunction to compel the three late masters to render him the proper amount of dilapidations. Wykeham, in reply, makes Thomas Yonge, and two

¹ Spelt in the Register "De Cloune," from Clown, near Chesterfield, Derbyshire.

² Aug. 13. Reg. i, 50.

³ Reg. iii, 39.

⁴ 10th Sept. Reg. iii, 38.

Four masters
summoned to
Southwark.

others, his commissaries, to take proceedings "in the case which our beloved son Sir Roger Clown is promoting" against his three predecessors:¹ *but*, at the same time, crosses this action by naming the same persons a commission to summon all four masters to Southwark, and investigate the whole affair.

Yonge, accordingly, summoned them to Southwark, and opened the proceedings by a statement of the case against them, and asked them to show anything in their charter of foundation which authorized the immunity they claimed from the provisions of the "*Quia contingit*."² They acknowledged that they could not do so.³ He called upon them for inventories. Edingdon⁴ and Stowell declined to make them, alleging a contrary custom. Lyntesford made no statement of his own, but said that he agreed with Clown's statement. Clown utterly rejected the claim for inventories as novel. He put in a statement, "that the house of St. Cross is a perpetual ecclesiastical benefice, without cure of souls, free from all obligation of making oath, giving an inventory, or rendering any account; that it was principally founded for the honour of the worship of God, and has nothing of the nature or use of an hospital, the brethren received into it being weak and infirm in body, but in no way diseased or infected, so that it does not come under the description of a hospital, according to the terms of the "*Quia contingit*;" and that the master has the administration of all the possessions and goods belonging to it, with the burden only of making a certain distribution to a certain number of poor both within and without the house."⁵

¹ 30th October, 1370. Reg. iii, 42.

² MS. C. N.

³ The MS. New Coll. is annotated by Robert Sherborn (1495), a later master of St. Cross, who notes here that they could not have read attentively their charter of foundation, or they never would have acknowledged this.

⁴ November 5th.

⁵ Lowth, p. 84.

The case was protracted from sitting to sitting by the arguments of the proctors, whom both the plaintiffs and the several defendants constituted for this purpose.¹ But in this business we note more than the usual delay of the law. It was true that during the first part of the time Wykeham was unusually busy. But he resigned the Great Seal in March, 1371,² and the great council at Winchester was over during the month of June that year. Yet we hear nothing of the St. Cross suit during the whole year; in fact it does not seem more than once³ to have come before the commissioners in that year. In June, 1372, we hear of a meeting, and again on October 14th and 22nd, at which last all four masters were present.⁴

And now, at last, some progress seems to be made, for Wykeham is able to divide the rebel camp. His proctor insists,⁵ as usual, upon the absolute necessity of their furnishing inventories, and so complying with the terms of the "Quia contingit." But if this is all, Stowell has already done this, when two years and a half ago he sent an inventory in on Wykeham's demand. There is, therefore, nothing against Stowell; before the end of the year he reads through certain letters of submission, which are prescribed for him, and publicly submits.⁶

Stowell
submits;

Meanwhile, Clown appealed to the pope, although the suit was still pending. He complained, no doubt, in terms like those of his plea, that the claim on the part of any one for authority over the master of St. Cross was an absolute perversion of the founder's intention, which had been to create a benefice to be held without condition, and that the bishop, knowing this, was maliciously impugning his title.⁷

Clown appeals
to the pope.

¹ MS. N. C.

² On March 25th, 1371, Wykeham appoints Nicholas Heath, M.A., his proctor to the papal court. Was it on the St. Cross business? Reg. ii, 66.

³ This was on March 13th, 1371. MS. N. C.

⁴ MS. N. C.

⁵ October 22nd, 1372.

⁶ Dec. 29th. Reg. iii, 80.

⁷ Reg. iii, 95.

Hearing of Clown's appeal, the bishop himself wrote to the pope, and laid the true state of the case before him.¹ He recounted the history of the foundation of St. Cross from the beginning, and characterized the attitude of the masters who refused the accustomed inventory. He said² he feared that Clown, by his late appeal, meant nothing but to keep open the suit so as to gain time, which time he would use for the worst of purposes, namely, to rob the hospital.

Lyntesford
submits.

A very few days after Stowell's submission, that of Lyntesford followed. It was worded thus:³ "6th January, 1373. I, Richard de Lyntesford, late warden of St. Cross, considering the purpose of the foundation of St. Cross, and the bull 'Quia contingit' of Clement V, purely, spontaneously, simply, freely, and absolutely yield and renounce, by these writings, the position I have hitherto maintained, and submit to the disposition of William de Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, in all cases which he may have against me, especially that before the Venerable Thomas Yonge, commissary." Then follow the signatures of eight witnesses, among them being that of William Stowell, rector of Burghclere.

Stowell and Lyntesford now felt themselves at liberty to report to the bishop the evildoings of the present master; how he was robbing the hospital of "all corn, hay, animals, stock, and other goods and utensils that he could lay hands on."⁴ He had, indeed, set himself to despoil the hospital during the remaining time of his incumbency. "He sold the corn and the cattle, and a great quantity of materials that had been laid in for repairs, and converted

¹ Wykeham, on January 7th, 1373, made Robert Sistede, Hugh Earlham, John Lidford, and John Upton his proctors to the papal court. Reg. ii, 61.

² "Intendens super appellatione hujusmodi lites constituere immortales, ut prætextu litis hujus sic pendentis, ad facienda petita minime artari possit."—Reg. iii, 95.

³ Reg. iii, 62.

⁴ Reg. iii, 86.

the money to his own use: while the suit was pending, he had the impudence to pull down the larder of the hospital, and to sell the materials. Indeed, it was now of no use: the great hall was fallen in; the hundred poor were turned away; and the thirteen brethren were forced to quit the hospital, and provide for themselves where they could."¹ Wykeham saw that a further effort was required. He granted a commission to Thomas Shepton and two others to enquire about Clown's malicious waste;² and issued three letters to the three rural deans in whose deaneries Clown was most likely to be found—those of Winchester, Andover, and Droxford—bidding them arrest his person wherever he might be found.³

Yonge now signified to the bishop that his long investigation was at an end.⁴ On the 23rd of February, 1373, the sentence was pronounced. It was on all points against the masters: that they "had not proved their allegations, and ought to be compelled by ecclesiastical censures to give an account of their administration."⁵

Sentence
against the
four masters.

But now Shepton reported to the bishop on the gross dilapidations which Clown was maliciously causing at St. Cross. The bishop bade them summon him to show cause why a coadjutor should not be appointed.⁶ But Roger again absented himself, on which the bishop summoned him to formal trial in the Cathedral. The dean was instructed to post his name on the Cathedral door, and to cite him to trial on the Wednesday after April 25th, before four trustworthy men of Twyford and four of Owslebury; and to add that should he appear neither by person nor by proxy, the trial would proceed absence notwithstanding. We only know the issue of this trial from the fact that such a coadjutor was appointed, one Nicholas Kingston, and the

Clown cited
be tried in the
Cathedral.

A coadjutor
appointed to
Clown.

¹ Lowth, p. 87.

² Reg. iii, 86.

³ Reg. iii, 86.

⁴ Reg. iii, 102.

⁵ Lowth, p. 85.

⁶ Reg. iii, 89. March 23rd.

charge of "all things which are known to pertain to the administration of the temporal goods of the hospital" were committed to his charge.¹ This action of the bishop had the effect of deposing one William Castleford, rector of St. Pancras in Winchester, who had been the agent on the spot who had seen to all Clown's ravages since he had left residence in the hospital. Kingston found it no easy task to set matters to rights. He had again and again to invoke the bishop's aid, who first summoned Clown to Esher² to answer for having stopped the daily charity whereby the hundred poor were fed; and next sequestrated the property of St. Cross derived from churches and pensions.³ Next he warned the public against violating this his sequestration;⁴ as such was the riotous state of affairs, that it was not uncommon even for men with arms to invade the hospital and its lands, and carry off whatever they could find. And, lastly, he gives to Kingston a commission to gather the hospital rents.⁵

Pope delegates
to the bishop
of London
power to try
the case.

But meanwhile the answer from the pope had arrived. He took no notice of Clown, probably considering his appeal as informal, having been made against a trial still pending; but he wrote to the bishop of London, constituting him his delegate for the formal trial of the case. The bishop of London made Thomas Baketon his commissary for the trial.⁶ On June 21st all four masters appeared before the latter, who formulated the charges against them. Clown, by his proctor, excepted against the jurisdiction of the pope's letters, as "surreptitiously obtained, by underhand means and false suggestions." Upton, Wykeham's proctor, argued against the exception; which was not allowed. In

¹ Reg. iii, 97. June 16th.

² Reg. iii, 98. 6th September.

³ Reg. iii, 99. 6th September.

⁴ Reg. iii, 99. 17th September.

⁵ Reg. iii, 100. 1st October.

⁶ February 25th (1374).—Reg. iii, 95. The whole account of this trial is condensed from MS. N. C.

the middle of October began the examination of witnesses, and was continued till the end of November. Thirty-four witnesses were examined in all, of all degrees and estates of life, inhabitants of Sparkford itself (the hamlet in which the hospital was situate), of Winchester, and of the villages round about. By their depositions, a powerful body of evidence against the masters was brought together.

On the fifth of December Baketon summed up. He recounted all the circumstances since the beginning of the trial before Yonge five years before. He found that St. Cross was a hospital within the meaning of the "Quia contingit;" and that all the masters ought to be strictly bound by oath to render an annual inventory or account of their expenditure. On these accounts, he pronounced sentence that things should return to their former state; that the staff of four priests, thirteen secular clerks, and seven choristers, should be restored; and that Roger de Clown, the present master, should bear all the expenses of the suit.

Sentence of
pope's delegate
given against
Clown,

Thus the long proceedings came to an end. Clown, who had, in fact, got off surprisingly cheap, finding it hopeless to resist longer, made his submission at the beginning of 1375,¹ and swore that he would render an annual account of his administration to the bishop whenever called upon. "Upon which he is absolved from all sentences of excommunication pronounced against him for contumacy, and enjoined for penance to observe his oath of obeying the orders of the Church in this behalf."²

who submits,

and is absolved;

But Wykeham had no intention of allowing him again to administer the affairs of the hospital. The sequestration of the previous September was not yet cancelled; and the bishop kept the hospital property still in his own hands,

¹ January 6th, 1375.—Reg. iii, 103.

² Lowth, p. 88.

but the
management
of St. Cross is
given to
Nicholas
Wykeham.

appointing a kinsman of his own, one Nicholas Wykeham, to administer the hospital for him. This arrangement Clown at first seems to have resisted, and appealed again to the court of Rome. But, convinced that further resistance was hopeless, he soon relinquished his appeal, and left the hospital thenceforth undisturbed, though still continuing legally master. Meanwhile Nicholas Wykeham set about restoring the hospital to its former state, and recovering the estates and revenues, and restoring the buildings to something like their former condition. It was a long and troublesome task, but one made necessary by the ravages of Edington and Clown. Clown died on September 8th, 1382 ; and then the bishop appointed his great friend, John Campden, to be master ; first, however, taking the precaution to make Nicholas Wykeham renounce all the right and title which he might seem to have had in the hospital.

Gradual
growth of
Wykeham's
design for
helping the
clerical estate
in England.

During the progress of this tedious affair, another design—the design, as it has proved, by which he will be chiefly remembered—was slowly taking shape in Wykeham's mind.

He was a very wealthy man ; and, as a priest, with no heirs of his body, he had learnt to look on the Church—perhaps we ought to say, on the Church of England—as the heir to his wealth. How could he best provide for the great object of serving the Church of England ? She was at an extremely low ebb at this time. The plagues of 1349, 1361, and 1368, which had decimated the population of England, had almost denuded her of clergy. That of 1349 alone is said to have destroyed nine-tenths of the clergy. Even supposing this estimate to be an exaggeration, we can easily guess how a loss of numbers anything like this would impair the efficiency of those who remained. Wykeham bears testimony, as we shall see afterwards, to “the universal disease of the clerical soldiery

(*militiæ*), which is sorely wounded by the scarcity of the clergy, resulting from plagues, wars, and other miseries of the world."¹ And yet it was on the efficiency of this soldiery that the welfare of the Church of England depended. His first conclusion, therefore, was that he must in some way or other help the clerical estate in England; probably by raising some large educational establishment to train the clergy of future generations.

There is no evidence to show decidedly whether this scheme was in Wykeham's mind from the first in its entirety, or whether it was of gradual growth. But it looks as if it had been in his mind from the first. From the first he fed and clothed poor students of grammar in the city of Winchester. It is possible that he assumed to himself from the first the charge of the priory school, at which he had himself been educated, and paid for the scholars.² In 1375 we find him getting together a society of scholars in Oxford; whether drawn thither from Winchester or not we cannot tell. He asserts himself that "our two colleges, though situated in different places, come from one root, and originally spring from one fountain."³ In fact, he seems to have had in his mind the idea—imperfect and unshaped it may be—of a twofold institution, whence boys taken first at a tender age and instructed in elementary learning, should be drafted to a place of higher instruction, where they should be further trained until they

First conception of his two colleges;

¹ Stat. Coll. Oxon. § 1.

² In 1380, pope Urban VI says of Wykeham, "ut asserit, scholaribus in grammaticis in eadem civitate studentibus, de bonis a Deo sibi collatis pluribus annis vitæ necessaria ministravit."—Kirby's *Winchester College Charters*, p. 8. There is a curious "commissis pro aqua benedicta pauperibus scholaribus assignanda," in which Wykeham speaks of "nostri scolares;" dated 3rd January, 1368.—Reg. iii, 16. Milner (*History of Winchester*, ii, 154) writes as if he thought that the seventy college boys were the successors of the boys of the priory school, and that the one foundation was merged in the other. This would give, at least, a different conception of Wykeham's work. But that it was not so, is plain from the deed which institutes his chantry, as that mentions the priory school as still existing.—Lowth, App. p. 33.

³ Stat. Wint. § 4; Oxon. § 4.

became priests in the Church, and were provided with a home when they might, if they chose, continue to live the lives of students till old age. "It is not only," he says, "those who are already learned, rich, or taught in the arts (as we mostly see), but only and solely those who must, as it were from their cradles, or from boyhood, have lived on our alms in our college near Winchester, and there been taught in the rudiments of grammar—that is, poor and needy scholars,—whom we have ordered to be chosen for all future times; and who, devoted to the faculties and liberal sciences from youth to old age, will have the right to be kept at our two colleges on our alms."¹

to be founded
to the honour
of Christ and
the Virgin :

So far as we have yet followed him, Wykeham was intending to found a college at Oxford, with a preparatory institution at Winchester: and the great object of those establishments was no doubt thus expressed in the forefront of his future statutes; "To the praise, glory, and honour of the name of the Crucified, and of His most glorious Mother, Mary, for the keeping up and exalting of the Christian faith, the profit of Holy Church, and the increase of Divine worship, and liberal arts, sciences and faculties."²

the principal
one at Oxford

He naturally fixed on Oxford as the place where his idea should take the first shape. Oxford and Cambridge were then the only two universities in the country. Cambridge too shared the overflowing of his bounty;³ but it was natural that he should be more attracted to Oxford, as being situate in the same diocese, that of Lincoln, of which he had successively served two archdeaconries. It seemed plain by this time that the university would never again be moved from Oxford, as it had been more than once before. Walter de Merton, about a hundred years

¹ Stat. Oxon. § 66.

² Introd. to Statt. Winton and Oxon.

³ "Item pro anima Willelmi de Wycoumbe, episcopi Wintoniensis." From the mass for Cambridge benefactors. Cole's MSS. xxi, p. 128: quoted Walcott, p. 277.

before, had doubted whether this might be taken as certain ; but by founding his college (the first of the colleges in the modern sense of the word) had himself largely contributed to fix the university to its then locality. Since that four other colleges,¹ two of which existed earlier in another form, had grouped themselves round it. These five foundations rendered it out of the question to disperse the students, who, once to the surprising number of 30,000, and, still, in spite of the unpropitious times, to the number of 6,000, gathered either in halls or hostels, under the tuition of separate graduates, or else at the private houses of the citizens of Oxford.²

But what should be the type of the constitution of his colleges? Should it be monastic, or secular? That ever since the beginning of his episcopate Wykeham had been anxiously considering what the constitution should be, is evident from the language of his statutes. He there³ says : “ We have carefully studied the traditions of the old fathers, and the different tried rules of the saints ; and then we have looked at the many who profess the said traditions and rules. But we sadly confess that nowhere now, as of old, have we found the rules, ordinances, and statutes observed by those who profess them, according to the mind of their founders. This has much troubled and perplexed us.” . . . “ On this subject we reasoned that it would be better for us to give with our hands our worldly goods to the poor, than while our life lasts to appropriate them, or in any way to assure them, to the use of the improvident ; for we saw what great dangers threatened the souls of them that broke such their rules, ordinances, and statutes. Yet, for a long time, we could not make up our mind upon the subject ; but at last, after devoutly asking God’s aid on our undertaking,

¹ University, Balliol, Oriel, Queen’s.

² Report of the Oxf. Univ. Commission, 1852, p. 129.

³ Stat. Oxon. § 68.

for the educa-
tion of poor
clerical
scholars,

we have unalterably fixed our mind's eyes towards the relief of poor clerical scholars while in the schools ; in the firm hope that men steeped in learning and different sciences will keep God before their eyes, and thus will look more clearly than others at His will as to keeping rules, ordinances, and statutes : and, therefore, will keep the rules, ordinances, and statutes we have delivered to them the more strictly. To their aid and relief then we have bent ourselves, and finally determined to spend our means and pains on this object according to our power."

In these words, he gives, no doubt, a true picture of the mental process by which he was brought to his determination. The natural thing to have founded would have been a monastery, or, at least, an educational establishment bound by some monastic rule. But he had no heart to do this, after comparing the actual lives led in such monasteries with the high profession of their rule, and remembering how unfailingly, in a generation or two after their foundation, monks and friars alike had degenerated from the high purpose of their respective founders. Rather than do this, he elected to follow nearly the example which Walter Merton had set a hundred years before, by founding a college of lay brethren so as to counteract the influence of the regular clergy, and especially of the mendicant friars. But Wykeham's design was far from being a servile copy of Walter Merton's constitution. Though Merton had founded a community, with provision for their religious wants, none of his students were bound to take orders ; they might all be laymen. But what Wykeham had set his heart upon was to help the Church by adding to the strength of her army. His conception was, therefore, to found colleges for training not regular but secular priests, and making it as like a monastery as might be, but keeping always in view this main point of difference :

who should live
under a rule,
and become
secular priests.

monasteries consisted of idle men, and it was found that not even their greater devotion to the service of God could induce them to keep to their founders' rules for more than two or three generations; they consisted of illiterate men, whose want of learning proved a sad stumbling block to the permanence of their zeal. But if his scholars were really students, and, still more, if they were men versed in all the learning and culture of the time, it could hardly be—Wykeham thought—that they could attend the devotional exercises which he would prescribe for the use of his colleges, and yet deliberately infringe the statutes he had prepared with so much care.

Wykeham thus came, early in his episcopate, to the resolution that he would found an establishment in Oxford for the training of the clergy. Its exact site, perhaps, was a matter of accident, depending on what parcels of land happened to be in the market. But in the year 1369 there happened to be a considerable number of acres lying close to each other for sale, in the parish of St. Peter's in the East.

In February that year, John Buckingham, canon of York, and John Rouceby, clerk, bought for Wykeham,¹ (1) certain plots of land, in amount two roods, of the prior and convent of St. Frithswith, 10th February, 1369; (2) eight plots, amounting to two acres, of the abbot and convent of Oseney, February, 1369; (3) six plots, amount three roods, of the provost and scholars of the new Queen's College, 1369.

Site of New
College
bought.

Also, the next year, the same persons bought for Wykeham, (4) a tenement near St. Peter's church, of Nicholas Reading, vicar of St. Peter's; at the same time agreeing with the abbess and nunnery of Godstow to pay their rent of fifteen shillings a year to the vicar and churchwardens of St. Peter's, for another half-acre, 21st February,

¹ Wood's *History and Antiquities of Colleges and Halls in Oxford*, edited by Gutch—iv, p. 177. And Patent Roll, 3 Ric. II, part i, 32.

1370; (5) one plot of John Wetwang, and (6) one of Emma Ludlow. These four acres all lay in the parish of St. Peter's in the East.

and seventy
poor scholars
collected.

Before the building could be raised, Wykeham had got ready the nucleus of his future college. In 1375 he collected a society of scholars; in 1376 we find mention of a warden and seventy scholars, called "Bishop Wykeham's poor scholars;" and, at the same time, Richard Tunworth, a fellow of Merton, was made warden of this society, at a salary of £20 a year. The fellows were lodged in different halls¹ on the site of Wykeham's future cloister, and allowed eighteen pence a week, and servants with their wages paid. The whole sum paid for their lodging amounted to £10. 13s. 4d. apiece per year.

Meanwhile
Wykeham
agrees with
Richard
Herton to
teach poor boys
at Winchester,

But, meanwhile, before his plans were ripe for building, or perhaps while he had enough building upon his hands already in the repair of his manor-houses, he was securing the material to be trained, the boys to be the future clergy. In September, 1373, he had made an agreement, as follows,² with one Richard Herton, at Winchester:

"In God's name, Amen. A.D. 1373, Indiction 11, September 1st, appearing in person before the reverend Father William, lord bishop of Winchester, in the hall of his manor-house at Marwell, in the diocese of Winchester, in the presence of the notary public and the underwritten witnesses, the venerable and discreet man, Master Richard Herton, grammarian, made, entered, and confirmed a sure covenant with the said bishop, as follows:

"That the said Richard, for ten years, beginning with Michaelmas Day next, shall instruct and teach faithfully and diligently in grammar the poor scholars whom the said Father keeps, and shall keep at his own expense; and shall receive no others to teach without the license of the said Father, except during a sickness or during a visit once to be paid at his own expense to the court of Rome, during which he shall substitute another fit and sufficient master to teach the said scholars in his

¹ Black Hall, Hart Hall, Shule (or Sheld) Hall, Maiden Hall, and Hammer Hall.

² Reg. iii, 98.

place. For this purpose he covenants with the said Father, that the latter shall find and keep for him another fit man to help him in his work of teaching the aforesaid scholars.

"This the said Master Richard has firmly promised with all diligence to perform and fulfil; and that this covenant may be firmly held and kept, the said Master Richard expressly placed his right hand in the said Father's right hand, and gave his promise to perform all the above as aforesaid.

"Done in the aforesaid year, indiction, month, day, bishopric, and place; present, the discreet Master John Buckingham, canon of York, and Sir John Campden, canon of Southwell, York diocese, and Henry Thorp and John Kelsey, apostolic notaries public, all called specially and asked as witnesses to the foregoing."

We do not know the number of the boys whom Herton thus instructed,¹ or where they were lodged. We hear of them some years later as lodged in the parish of St. John's on St. Giles' Hill, and it is possible they may have been there from the first. St. Giles' Hill is a steep eminence which rises abruptly close to the east gate of the city, from the chalky brow of which the whole extent of the High Street can be traced as it winds down from beneath the west gate to the level of the river Itchen, almost beneath the feet. On the slope, just on the hill side of the river, lay the small church of St. John, in which Wykeham's scholars were bound to attend the services of the Hours, and the Mass, every Sunday and Saint's Day as long as they resided in this parish.

to be lodged in
St. John's
parish.

Embarked in the scheme of his life, Wykeham would probably have pursued it with much more rapidity, had it not been for unseen political troubles, which were destined to burst upon him during the year 1376; which, had they continued, would have completely put an end to his plans for the public benefit, and which had the effect of quite paralyzing them for the time.

¹ Lowth quotes a bull of Urban VI, referring to Wykeham's ancient habit of keeping 70 scholars. But the word "septuaginta" before "scolaribus" is omitted in Kirby's transcript of the same bull (p. 8). The elder of these boys may possibly have been among "Wykeham's poor scholars" in Oxford in 1375. See last page.

CHAPTER VI.

WYKEHAM IN DISGRACE.

A.D. 1376, 1377.

WE resume the thread of the political story from the June of 1371, when we saw—at the end of Chapter IV—the clerical ministry in retirement, and discredited with the country; and a ministry composed of lawyers managing the war.

War unsuccessful in autumn, 1372.

But the war continued to be unfortunate. Duke John, it is true, had one success. He recovered Montpaon, which had surrendered to the French; but then he disbanded his forces, and returned to Bordeaux. There he remained till September, quite inactive in spite of French successes; and then returned to England with his newly-married wife, Constance, the daughter of Pedro, the late king of Castile, in whose right he henceforth assumed the title of king of Castile.

Pembroke appointed to the command

The winter of 1371—1372 saw a change in the command. Young John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, the anti-clerical leader of the court party, who had been intended for the king's son-in-law, was appointed to be commander in Aquitaine instead of the duke of Lancaster. He set sail with a fleet—raised, it was noted after the event, by the unjust taxation of the Church—for Poitou in June, but was intercepted, defeated, and captured by a Spanish flotilla sent by Henry of Castile to the succour of the French king. It was a severe blow to the English; the king in

person collected a larger fleet and army than ever, and sailed for Poitou in August, with his three sons, Edward, John, and Edmund then earl of Cambridge. Before he left England, he had summoned a parliament to be held in October by his grandson, prince Richard, as regent. But after beating about in the Bay of Biscay for nine weeks, they were defeated by wind and weather, and forced to return ignominiously before the appointed day (October 13th) for which the parliament was summoned. He met it, therefore, himself in November, and laid before it his needs. Enough bullion to pay 3,000 soldiers had been captured with Pembroke; the king had spent £900,000 upon the recent ineffectual attempt to relieve Rochelle: all this must be paid for somehow. The commons granted a heavy tax on wool; but the recent misfortunes in war had made the lawyers' ministry unpopular, and by consequence had raised the credit of the clerical ministry, as at all events nothing so disastrous had happened during their tenure of office. And so we find that the only petition which passed into a statute during this parliament was one retaliating on lawyers with a measure similar to that by which clergy had been excluded from office the year before. The ordinance ran that "men of law" (*gentz de ley*) actually practising in the king's court, and sheriffs during their term of office, were not to be returned to parliament as knights of the shire. The clerical interest cannot have been unfavourably viewed by a parliament which passed such a statute; and their rivals, the court and lawyers' ministry, must have been proportionately out of favour.

The king sets out in person, but returns.

Parliament enacts statute disabling lawyers from office.

The year 1373 saw another effort on the part of the English to regain their conquests, but one equally unfortunate with the last. Duke John landed at Calais in July with a well-appointed army of 13,000 English, and marched into Picardy. Portions of this army were defeated in

Another invasion of France, 1373, under duke John,

who appeals to
parliament for
money.

several small engagements ; but the French wisely avoided hazarding a general battle. They had already earlier in the year laid siege to Becherel, a strong castle in Bretagne, which held out for many months. Duke John, meeting no direct opposition, marched through France, avoiding the capital. His progress was slow ; but about Christmas he threw himself into Bordeaux, never once having met a French army. But his own army was not what it had been. He had lost nearly all his horses and many of his men ; supplies had run short ; he had sent home for money, and the English parliament was called to provide it on November 21st.

Wykeham
named for
conference
with lords.

When parliament met, the Chancellor peremptorily asked for aid, saying that until this was done the petitions of the commons could not be heard. This inversion of the usual order of proceedings was resented by the commons ; they asked for a conference with the lords, naming eight peers who "should go and treat with them of the said points and causes." The eight named were opposed to the Lancaster influence ; three were bishops, and among them Wykeham of Winchester, the late Chancellor. The lords agreed to send them, and after five days' consultation the commons made their offer of aid to the king, after which followed the presentation of petitions. Among them many related to the encroachments of the pope in England, a subject which will come more fully before us in another chapter.

Conference at
Bruges, 1374.

Meanwhile pope Gregory XI, anxious to make peace between the two kingdoms, had sent two bishops as envoys to the headquarters of both armies. Their efforts resulted in an agreement that a great conference should meet at Bruges in 1374, when French, English, and papal ambassadors should all be present.

In preparation for this conference, a truce was agreed

on, to last for fifteen months from February, 1374, which was not to disturb the general war, but to pacify only the country to the north of the Somme, that the ambassadors of the respective nations might come and go without difficulty.¹ First arrived envoys from England, on a private matter between king Edward and the pope; for the king seized this opportunity to come to an agreement with the pope about his encroachments within the realm: of this subject more hereafter. The English ambassadors upon the general business of the war were commissioned in the summer:² duke John, bishop Sudbury of London, William Montacute earl of Salisbury, John lord Cobham, and four others. Before the conference met, however, both Becherel and St. Sauveur le Vicomte were in the hands of the French. Both of these places were dearly-prized English possessions, and as to both of them, sinister rumours of treachery were propagated. As to both, the suspected persons afterwards suffered from the fury of the English, as we shall see.

The conference met on November 1st, 1374. The discussions were prolonged for many months; but in June, 1375, duke John concluded a truce between French and English for a year. He then returned to England, where broils of a different kind awaited him.

Truce concluded, June, 1375.

During the two years which he had spent abroad, everything had tended to accentuate the difference between the parties.

He found the king, although he was but sixty-three years of age, grown prematurely old, and sluggish and inactive in mind as well as body. He found a mistress ruling him like a despot; one Lady Windsor, in reality the wife of Sir William Windsor, but better known by the name of Alice Perrers, who had been recommended to him

Alice Perrers,
Lady Windsor,

¹ Froissart, i, 322.

² July 26th.—Stubbs, ii, p. 427, and *n.*

(it is an enemy's description),¹ not by her good looks, for she had none, but by her winning and persuasive tongue. She was a native of Henney, in Essex, the daughter of a tiler ; but her ready wit, in spite of her low birth, had made her one of the ladies of the bedchamber to the late queen Philippa. After the queen's death, she had gained ascendancy over the king. Edward was weak enough to grant her the jewels belonging to her late mistress :² she had appeared at a tournament in Cheapside in a fancy dress as lady of the sun, on a white palfrey. It was whispered that she alone dispensed the royal favour : she actually had appeared in court, and taken a seat on the king's bench, and so overawed the judges as to thwart them in administering justice. She was hated by the people ; but their hatred, while secure in the favour of the king, she was content to despise.

supported by
duke John,

Such was the state of things when duke John returned from Bruges, and readily fell into his old place as leader of the court party, supporting Lady Windsor in her presumption, and the king in his infatuation. With him acted the executive of the day, Sir John Knyvett, the Chancellor, who had succeeded Sir Robert Thorp on the death of the latter in 1322, and Sir Richard Scrope of Bolton, the Treasurer, duke John's personal friend and confidant. With him also generally acted those who had held commands under him in the now suspended French war.

opposed by
Wykeham and
the national
party,

But against him was a powerful opposition : the national party forming a coalition with the Church, with bishop Wykeham for its foremost champion. The unsuccessful war furnished them with complaints : John's merits as a

¹ *Chronicon Angliæ, a Monacho Sti. Albani* (Rolls Series, 1874), p. 95.

² In the Introduction to Brantingham's Issue Roll appears the following, under date 1372 :—" To Alice de Perers, in money paid to her by her own hands, in discharge of £397, which the lord the king commanded to be paid to her for jewels and divers other things, purchased from the same Alice ; and £200 for divers other jewels purchased from the same Alice, for the use of the said lord the king."

commander were canvassed, his defects criticised, his personal courage freely denied, his lieutenants charged with treachery. It was a long and hot summer ; no parliament was summoned for fear of a repetition of the plague ; from having no legitimate vent the growls of the populace became chronic, became dangerous. What if the duke were scheming to lay hands on the crown at no distant date ? His father and brother were already doomed to death ; there remained but one in succession to the crown before himself, prince Edward's son Richard, now a boy of nine years old. It was apparently this last suspicion which set prince Edward himself in opposition to his brother John. He lent his powerful influence to head the coalition of Church and nation ; and though visibly decaying in health, his influence was still great, for his deeds in war had made him the darling of the nation. All at once, while things were in this state, duke John showed furious antipathy towards bishop Wykeham. That this antipathy was of a sudden growth appears to be without doubt. The duke had been in the habit of naming Wykeham as one of his trustees to administer the revenues of his castles and manors, and to act for him in the case of his death. This he had done before taking the command in France in the year 1369 and 1373 ; nay, as late as the beginning of this very year 1375, he had nominated him and one other his attorneys to act for him in any of the English courts during his absence at Bruges.¹

with whom
prince Edward
acted.

But this he had done while yet absent in Flanders ; and before he became acquainted, except by hearsay, with the state of English parties. What can account for the sudden burst of wrath with which he distinguished him, and the vindictiveness with which he hunted him down as soon as he had the power ?

¹ Lowth, p. 61.

Duke John
violently
enraged with
Wykeham.

There seems to have been a more personal cause of enmity than the general one of being at the head of the opposite party. What this was, we shall probably never know. The duke's temperament of mind may account for much ; he seems to have been, like his father, liable to sudden bursts of resentment which only lasted for a time. Witness king Edward's peremptory conduct in the matter of archbishop Stratford, and again of archbishop Langham. But this sudden aversion to one for whom he had formerly had all respect seemed so extraordinary to bystanders, that they told a most improbable story to account for it. They said that queen Philippa on her death-bed had owned to Wykeham, under seal of confession, that John was not her own child, but the child of a Ghent woman, whom she had substituted for the son (or others said the daughter) of whom she had been confined at Ghent, and had begged him to make it known if the child ever became likely to succeed to the throne. The whole fable is just of that improbable kind that pleases the ignorant crowd, and is hardly worth a serious refutation. But the fact that the story should have been believed at all proves at least that it served to account, in however improbable a way, for the duke's estrangement from the bishop ; and so that this was felt to be an extraordinary thing, and one perfectly unaccountable in itself.

Parliament
summoned,
1376.

The national party resolved to make an effort to get rid of the king's advisers in the parliament which was summoned for February the 12th, 1376. But, though summoned for this day, it did not meet till April the 28th, and did not do business till the 29th. On that day Knyvett, the Chancellor, addressed the lords and commons assembled in the Painted Chamber. He briefly referred the summoning of the parliament to three causes : it was called to advise for the good and peaceful governance of the realm, for defence

against the king's enemies, and for the maintenance of the war. The commons, as in 1373, requested that a committee of lords might be appointed to confer with them on the business before the house. They nominated four bishops, Norwich, Rochester, London, and Carlisle; then, after consultation with them, chose four barons, lords Percy, Stafford, Bryan, and Scrope of Masham;¹ and the barons and bishops, together with the commons, chose four earls, those of March, Warwick, Stafford, and Suffolk, and so made the whole committee twelve.

Conference of
lords and
commons

It is a remarkable thing that Wykeham was not among the bishops nominated. We can only infer that he did not care to put himself forward, but that he was thoroughly identified with the party of opposition there can be no manner of doubt. In his absence, Courtenay, bishop of London, his friend and disciple, was the leading prelate of the party. The leading earl was Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who had married Philippa, daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence; and who, therefore, had a direct interest in opposing the schemes of duke John, who was Lionel's younger brother, in the interest of his heir not yet born, who would stand next in the succession to the throne to young prince Richard.

These twelve lords met the commons in conference in the chapter-house at Westminster. They agreed to the levying of the subsidy granted in the last parliament for three years more; but they refused to agree to anything further, on account of the distress of the times—the recent pestilence, murrain, and failure of crops. And this they weighted with a condition; namely, that a permanent administrative council of ten or twelve members (lords)

propose an
administrative
council,

¹ Not the same with Richard lord Scrope, of Bolton, his first cousin, who was Treasurer; this was Henry lord Scrope, of Masham and Upsal, an older man (æt. 61) "of much official experience."—Stubbs, ii, p. 429.

should be appointed by themselves to "enforce" the king's council. Six of these were always to be in attendance on the king ; no great business was to be undertaken unless all agreed upon it ; and the ordinances of this body were to be duly executed, as if they had emanated from the ministers themselves.

to which the
king agrees.

That the king agreed to this almost revolutionary measure, saving only to his ministers the rights in their several offices,¹ must be ascribed to his urgent distress for money, and perhaps to a hope that in some unforeseen way he should be enabled to shelve these assessors. Their actual nomination was delayed till the rest of the business of the parliament was dispatched.

De la Mare
states
commons'
grievances,

This settled, the conference broke up ; and the commons proceeded to put forward Sir Peter de la Mare, a Herefordshire knight, to urge their grievances to the council, which many of them scarcely even yet dared to do. They represented—apparently, by his mouth—that the king ought to be rich, considering the vast aids which had been given him in former years, and that the fact that he was poor instead of rich lay at the door of certain private persons, who only cared for enriching themselves. He pointed to three ways in which this had been done : first, they had procured wool and bullion to be carried elsewhere than to Calais, so defrauding the staple ; secondly, they had agreed to the lending of divers sums to the king at an usury shamefully heavy ; thirdly, they had connived at the buying up of the king's debts at less than their full amount, while they had obtained full payment for them at the king's treasury. Further, he proceeded to specify nine culprits, whose impeachment duke John was obliged to allow. The three most notorious were William lord Latimer, Richard Lyons, merchant, and Alice Perrers.

and impeaches

¹ Rot. Parl. iii, 10.

The head and front of Latimer's offence had been misconduct in the war. He had been entrusted by duke John with the command in Bretagne, but he had used it, it was alleged, to extort large sums from the Bretons: had sold the castle of St. Sauveur le Vicomte to the French, and had prevented the relief of Becherel. Richard Lyons had lent at shameful usury to the king, and been paid one pound for each mark; he had played into Latimer's hands, to the enriching of themselves, and impoverishing the kingdom by gigantic frauds. Lord Neville ventured to intercede for his father-in-law, Latimer, but was silenced by a threat directed against himself. Latimer was examined before the lords his peers. He "craved counsel and day, to have the said articles in writing, and withal he desired that he might answer by advisement.¹ But Sir William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, in the presence of the lords, said that it were not meet he should have counsel or day, for no man knew his deeds so well as himself, and therefore that reason would he should answer without other advisement, and without prolongation of day. And the lord Latimer answered the bishop, and said this was hard, and contrary to all reason, in so short a space to be urged to make answer to such grievous and heinous points as are laid against him: protesting, notwithstanding, that he would wholly put his person, castles, and goods into his liege lord's favour and will, to do with him and his goods whatsoever it might please him. And at that present, he was attached and committed into the custody of the earl of March, then marshal of England; and the constableness of Dover, whereof the said lord Latimer was then guardian and constable, was given to Sir Edmund of Langley, earl of Cambridge, the king's son. As well, at the same time,

lord Latimer

and Richard Lyons.

Wykeham refuses to let Latimer postpone his trial.

¹ The quotation comes from Appendix (B) to the introduction to *Chronicon Anglie* [p. lxxii].

Richard Lyons aforesaid was adjudged and commanded to the Tower of London perpetual prisoner, and all his rents and tenements given by the king to sundry persons, and all his goods forfeited.”¹

This is the only notice that we have of any personal part taken by Wykeham in the proceedings of this parliament. But apparently he did actually take a leading part in these proceedings, and his apparent object was to show that the misconducting of the war was the fault, not so much of the late ministry who were in power when it began, as of the commanders who had lately been responsible for its management. But his refusal to let lord Latimer be represented by counsel, and have another day appointed for his answer, was remembered by his enemies and visited on himself before many months were over.

Three others
also impeached

Next followed the impeachment of three of the lesser criminals: William Ellis, John Peach, of London, and John, lord Nevill. The last-named was deprived of his office of steward of the royal household, and compelled to pay a fine of 8,000 marks, or upwards of £5,300, as some restitution for the unjust gains which he had made in the purchase of the royal debts. The monkish chronicler of the period adds² that the commons also petitioned for and obtained the removal from the king's person of one Sir Richard Sturry, a knight of Lollard opinions and intimate with the king, who was believed to have poisoned his mind against the views of his fellows among the commons; but of this we hear nothing in the Rolls of Parliament.

Alice Perrers
publicly
reproved.

The next attack was on the king's mistress, but covertly made, as was necessary in dealing with one so high in the royal favour. The St. Alban's chronicler tells us³ that De la Mare insisted on her removal from the court; the Rolls of Parliament give a more sober version of what was

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 87.

² *Ib.* p. 87.

³ *Ib.* p. 97.

done. According to these, on the commons' petition, a statute was made "concerning women practising in the king's courts," as follows:—"Whereas complaint is made to the king that certain women have pursued divers businesses and quarrels in the king's courts by way of maintenance. . . this thing displeases the king, and the king forbids that henceforward any woman do this, and especially Alice Perrers, under penalty of as much as the said Alice shall be able to forfeit, and of being banished beyond the realm."

This public reproof was probably all that took place. The chronicler goes on to tell us that she was banished from court, the king interposing to protect her against a capital sentence: that she took an oath that she would not return upon the cross of the archbishop of Canterbury, who also swore to excommunicate her if she perjured herself.¹ But this seems like the garnish necessary for making up a good story. If the statute were strictly carried out, Alice Perrers could have been in no danger of death: it only threatened her with penalties provided she repeated her illegal acts. If she did repeat them her goods were to be forfeited, and she herself to be banished the kingdom. This last certainly did not take place, and it is highly improbable that she repeated her offence; and if not, it would have been an illegal and unwarrantable act to remove her person from the coast.

On June the 8th the long illness of prince Edward terminated fatally. He died at Canterbury on Trinity Sunday, after much suffering borne patiently and resignedly, and was buried in the Cathedral. The chronicler says that Sir Richard Sturry sought an interview with him, and was rebuked by him on his deathbed; ¹ an incident, perhaps, only thrown in to heighten the effect of the dying scene, of the prince's forgiveness of his enemies, and of Sturry's wickedness.

Death of
prince Edward
June, 1377.

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 200.

His death was a severe blow to the party of reform. It was by this time apparent that the king could not live many months; duke John, in case of his death, would be the heir presumptive to the crown, and it was important to secure the safety of the future king. Another John **had** been more than suspected of employing **foul** means to rid himself of his **nephew** Arthur; and if the chronicler is to be believed, the duke at once took measures which strongly suggested the parallel. He proposed that the parliament should settle the question of the succession in case of the king's death, setting aside female claims.¹ This was aimed at Philippa, the wife of Edward Mortimer, earl of March, who, as already observed, was the daughter of duke John's elder brother, Lionel. The commons set the matter aside as unnecessary to discuss at present; at the same time they begged that prince Richard of Bordeaux, the son of the late prince Edward, should be produced before the parliament. This was done on the 25th of June, between a fortnight and three weeks after his father's death.

Commons
require prince
Richard to be
produced.

Parliament
dissolved;

Thus ends the official record of the acts of the parliament, fondly called the "good parliament" by the people. The chronicler inserts here the choice of the assessors to the king's council, which the Rolls had given earlier among those acts. And it is possible that the names of the members of the committee, which may have taken some time to agree upon, were published now. The chronicle itself does not give the names; but nine of them, selected in equal proportions from bishops, earls, and barons, are named in one of the contemporary fragments.² The three bishops were archbishop Sudbury of Canterbury, Wykeham of Winchester, and Courtenay of London. The three earls were Arundel, Stafford, and March: of these, March and

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 92.

² Appx. (A) to *Intro.* to *Chron. Angl.* (p. lxviii).

Stafford had served on the committee to confer with the commons ; Arundel was **Richard** FitzAlan, also earl of Surrey. The three barons were the lords Percy and Bryan (who had both been on the conference committee), and the third was Roger lord Beauchamp of Bletsoe.

The parliament then departed for Eltham, where the king lay, to gain his consent in person to what had been done. He gave his consent, and the session broke up on the 6th July, having sat for ten weeks, the longest time that any session had taken yet. They were well content with what they had done, and to show their joy the knights of the shires gave a great banquet to the bishops (no doubt among them to Wykeham) and the other lords, and to the mayor and burgesses of the city of London and other cities, the king contributing "two tons of claret wine and eight does of venison."¹

No sooner, however, had the worthy knights and burgesses returned to their homes, than the work of the parliament was "foredone."² Duke John was left at the head of the executive, and he declared his intention of paying no heed to the ordinances of the late parliament. Latimer was released from prison, and returned to court ; we need not heed the further rumour that he had bribed the duke to procure his release.³ The assessors to the king's council were not even summoned to attend it : lord Latimer was summoned instead. The king had an access of his illness about Michaelmas,⁴ while staying at Havering-at-Bower, near Romford ; and Alice Perrers—who had stayed away, perhaps, by his desire—at once returned to him.⁵ Sir Peter de la Mare was invited to court, and on his coming was carried off without form of trial to prison in Nottingham-

its work un-
done by duke
John,

¹ Appx. (B) to *Introd. to Chron. Angl.* (p. lxxii).

² *Chron. Angl.* p. 73.

³ *Id.* p. 102.

⁴ App. (B) to *Introd. Chron. Angl.* p. lxxiii.

⁵ *Chron. Angl.* p. 104.

shire. The duke, wishing to get rid of the earl of March, ordered him to go officially as marshal of England to Calais; but March, rather than leave England at this juncture, resigned the marshal's baton,¹ which was immediately given to lord Percy, who by this bribe was detached from the party of reform, and attached to the duke's side. And now the duke had leisure to fall upon Wykeham with the full force of his vengeance.

who calls a
council to try
Wykeham for
misdemeanors.

He summoned, on October 11th, an extraordinary great council² at Westminster: its sole business, so far as we know, was to try the bishop of Winchester on a charge of malversation brought by certain persons unknown. Latimer and the duke had arranged between them that Wykeham should be accused thus of offences committed during his chancellorship, and that the proceedings should be an exact counterpart of Latimer's own impeachment before the parliament three months before. They hoped to divert the popular indignation by fixing it upon their rival, whom they charged with a larger amount of default than even they had been found guilty of. Eight articles of accusation were drawn up against the bishop; and, at the beginning of November, he was summoned before the council to hear them, and to reply to them.

Wykeham
pleads for
delay:
refused.

Wykeham, who seems to have heard of the accusations contained in the articles now for the first time, "craved counsel and day because he could not so speedily answer."³ Then Sir William Skipwith,⁴ at that time newly made

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 108.

² "A great council which began straight after the prince's burial—the next Monday after the feast of St. Denys—and continued to the feast of St. Nicholas."—App. (B) id. p. lxxiv. On the great council, see Stubbs, ii, pp. 255–264. "From the accession of Henry III, a council comes into prominence, which seems to contain the officers of state and of the household, the whole judicial staff, a number of bishops and barons, and other members who, in default of any other official qualification, are simply counsellors; these formed a permanent, continual, or resident council."—p. 256.

³ *Chron. Angl.* p. 78.

⁴ Sir William Skipwith, of Ormsby, in Lincolnshire, was made baron of the Exchequer in 1362. Three years afterwards he was removed and imprisoned on

secondary justice of the king's common pleas, said that it was no reason to give him day of advice, neither any counsel, no more than the lord Latimer had ; for such was his own judgment against the said lord." But duke John interposed with an appearance of moderation, which no doubt he thought would be especially galling to Wykeham. "The duke of Lancaster then answered that he demanded but reason ; also that what was done to the lord Latimer was done in the heat of the day and without good faith, and therefore he granted him day and counsel as himself list to have ; also, if he wist not how to answer for himself, he should take counsel with such men of law as were able in his defence to declare his mind." There must have been something particularly pleasing to the duke in the advice which he thus gave gratuitously to the bishop, as if he had said,—You no doubt are so busily occupied with the duties of your sacred calling that you have not had time to study the law, and therefore you can take advice with the "men of law" who have hitherto been your rivals.

The duke no doubt enjoyed his taunt ; and the bishop was dismissed for the sitting.¹ For the next two days, before the third day after, when the next sitting was to take place, he had enough to do to study the articles and prepare his defence. These articles were as follows :—

I. "Imprimis, that, after through truce the king was at peace with his adversary of France, the said bishop had the disposition and administration of all the king's revenues, as well

First article.

suspicion of some malpractices. In 1370 he was restored to the Bench, being made Chief Justice of Ireland, and 1376 was appointed Judge of Common Pleas in England. In this office he continued till 1388, when he resigned rather than give the illegal decision for the king against the Duke of Gloucester. He died in 1391. *Unpublished account of the Skipwith family.*

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 78.

² The articles are given as translated in Appendix B, in the introduction to *Chron. Angl.* The original Latin is to be found in Rot. Parl. iii, p. 388. A mistake in translation is to be found in Article 8, where 20,000 is written for 10,000 marks ; but for the most part it is faithfully rendered in *Chron. Angl.*

on this side the sea as beyond the sea, with all the subsidies of England, both great and small. Also of the money by him received for the French king's ransom, likewise for the ransom of the land of Burgundy, and for the Scottish king ; which receipt amounted to eight years, throughout the whole time that Dan Simon of Langham, bishop of Ely, afterwards cardinal, and Master John Barnet were Treasurers of England, that is to say from the 26th day of November, in the 35th year of the king, unto the 43rd year, amounting to the sum of £21,600, and 100,000 francs for Sir Galeas.¹ Also, he had the government of all the king's goods, which for the most part are not returned to the profit of the king and the realm. Likewise, that when the said peace had continued ten whole years, and the second war began, there was but little found in the king's treasury, but the king was in great poverty, to the impoverishment of himself and his realm, and the oppression of his people ; for of mere force it was meet he should be discharged by the clergy and commons by way of subsidy and loan ; all which proceeded of the evil government of the said bishop."

This article could not have been a difficult one to answer, except that it was conceived in such general terms. During the first six of the eight years above mentioned, Wykeham was not the chief adviser of the king, not the Treasurer, nor the Chancellor. During the last two, when he was Chancellor, bishop Brantingham of Exeter was Treasurer ; and he was still alive, and should have been accused instead. Doubtless, the article proceeded on the general opinion that Wykeham had been the confidential friend of the king all this time. This, no doubt, gave him an influence, but a perfectly indefinite one, and one which could not authorise him to interfere in the province of the Treasurer. The fact that the kingdom was so exhausted with debt in 1369 is sufficiently accounted for, by the consideration that the nine years of peace had succeeded to twenty-two years of an expensive war, had been interrupted themselves by the Spanish expedition and the Breton

¹ Galeazzo Visconti of Florence.

war, and had been fruitful in the intestine disasters of famine, murrain, and pestilence.

II. "Item, contrary to God, to all reason, and to the laws of the realm, the said bishop put to ransom, and procured to take a great sum of gold and silver of Messieurs Matthew de Gourney, Thomas Fogge, John St. Lo, Diggory Lees, and Robert de Ewes, and of many other captains who had nobly travailed in the king's wars against his enemies. Which misprisions redounded so greatly to the king's damage, and to the loss of the realm, that it cannot well be spoken : for all the other soldiers, when they heard of the said oppressions, gathered into sundry companies, and raised a new war in the realm of France. Whereupon war began again, and other mischiefs happened." Second article.

This is nothing less than a charge against Wykeham of being the original founder of those curses of social life in Western Europe—the Free Companies:—a charge which makes one smile, so far is it from having any foundation in truth. There is no manner of doubt as to how the Free Companies arose. They were the natural product of the war between England and France. We first hear of them in 1357, ten years before Wykeham was at the head of affairs in England. They consisted originally of the disbanded soldiers of both sides, except that there were no Englishmen in their ranks ; "there were," says Froissart, "Germans, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, Gascons, and bad Frenchmen." But they were mostly officered by English, or by Frenchmen of the English obedience, so that by degrees these drew English to join their ranks. They became a formidable third power between the combatants, selling their services to whichever side would pay the most, and always the first to maraud and pillage the country where they happened to be. In 1366, the pope actually hired them to support the claim of Don Henry to the Castilian throne. Many English leaders, such as Sir John Calverley and Sir Robert Knollys, were among them, in spite of peremptory orders from king Edward not to

cross the Pyrenees. Two of the persons whom Wykeham was charged with oppressing had been in the expedition, Sir Matthew Gourney and Sir Thomas Fogge, the latter of whom had long belonged to Knollys' company. Nothing is more likely than that they, and possibly the others here specified also, captured on their return into Aquitaine, were punished with fines by the English Chancellor: but therein he would only have been exercising the necessary discipline of war.

Third article.

III. "Item, the said bishop, being Clerk of our lord the king's Privy Seal, and chief of the privy council, and governor of the great council, caused to release and deliver the hostages royal of France: and among the rest were delivered the dukes of Anjou and Bourbon, Berri, and Burgundy, and many others; and, as the common voice and fame of the people goeth, all for his own profit, to make him bishop of Winchester. Notwithstanding the prince, whom God pardon, had often written to the king and to him wisely to govern and safely to keep the said hostages, to the end the peace might not be broken: for had they been kept we had had no war."

We have already mentioned the release of the princes of the fleur de lys as one of the proximate causes of the renewal of the French war, and we have given the popular story as to the mission of the duke of Bourbon to Avignon to plead for the bishopric of Winchester for Wykeham. That he procured the bishopric for him was, at any rate, an absurd exaggeration; still, it does seem that this count fairly hit a weak spot in Wykeham's armour, and that his weakness as Chancellor was one of the causes of the renewal of the war. But this was not a reason for the condemnation of a minister, however unsuccessful, seven years after the event.

Fourth article.

IV. "Item, that where[as] he was in time convenient sufficiently certified by the officers of Ponthieu to aid them with succour against their enemies, to the end that peace might not be broken, he foded on the messengers with subtle and deceivable speeches, and so negligently behaved himself toward them that it seemed

he took no care to appoint any remedy or help, so that the land was lost through his default."

Here again, if the fact could be proved of the frequent appeals in aid of Sir Nicholas Louvain, governor of Ponthieu, no one could acquit Wykeham of gross negligence in not hearkening to his representations. But we hear of no such representations. It is true that king Edward, by neglecting to watch Ponthieu, gave the French the opportunity they wanted for recovering the country. "Had the king of England," writes Froissart, "perceived that the king of France intended war, he would easily have prevented the loss of Ponthieu by reinforcing the garrisons of Abbeville with English, and others attached to him, so that he would have been master of the whole country."¹ Wykeham, therefore, was so far blameworthy that he did not suggest extraordinary precautions as to Ponthieu; but it is asking too much of a minister to demand that he should be always on his guard against treachery, especially after a peace of nine years.

V. "Item, while he was Chancellor of England, sundry times of his own authority he caused the fines in the Rolls of the Chancery to be diminished, and the Rolls to be razed; especially in the case of Sir John Grey of Rotherfield, who fined £80 to purchase a licence to make a feoffment of certain lands and tenements, which £80 were paid into the hanaper. And the said bishop, in respect of a bargain made between him and the said Sir John, caused the first charter to be cancelled, making another charter of like matter and tenor and date, for a fine of £40; and caused the clerk of the hanaper to return the other £40 to the said Sir John, to the deceiving of the king." Fifth article.

This turned out to be the only charge that was sustained, and consequently we shall hear more of it when we come to the narrative of the trial.

VI. "Item, in the 43rd year of the king, John the son of Sixth article.

¹ Froissart, i, 251.

John Buildwas fined £100 for a pardon for lands purchased without licence; and the said bishop made to abate £20, as appeareth by a memorandum upon an enrolment of the same."

Wykeham's detractors without doubt meant to insinuate that he appropriated the £20 above-named to his own use. But of this there is no proof whatever; rather, as the charge was not pressed, we must conclude that the whole dealing was open and above-board, and that the partial remission of the fine was but an instance of Wykeham's characteristic goodness of heart.

Seventh article. VII. "Item, where[as] there was a commission directed to the earl of Angus and other commissioners to enquire of certain lands and tenements whereof the lord John de Driby died seized, and of Tattershall Castle, and the manor of Tumbly, and other lands: also how the lord John Kirton entered after the decease of the said lord John de Driby, and upon what cause: also upon what cause he occupied the said castle, lands, and tenements so long time that the issues and other profits of the same arising amounted to above 8,000 marks, from whom the king should have been answered of the said sum, because the said castle and lands were held of him in chief, as by inquest it was found:—the said bishop, being then Clerk of the Privy Seal, for his own singular profit, by his subtle counsel caused the king to release and pardon all the issues and profits aforesaid, without taking anything or having anything to the king's use of the said Sir John Kirton."

Of this affair we know nothing from other sources. Driby near Alford, Kirton near Boston, and Tattershall, are all in Lincolnshire. A John Kirton, doubtless the same with the above, died in 1367, without issue, having twice been summoned to parliament, in 1362 and 1363.¹ This may possibly have been because he was possessed of Driby, as a tenant in chief. What was charged against the bishop seems to have been that he neglected to enforce the payment of the "primer seisin" or first year's profits, due from every tenant in chief to the king. But the feudal system

¹ *Hist. Peerage* (H. Nicolas), p. 275.

was dying out ; and long before it was abolished by statute this particular service had died a natural death.

VIII. "Item, that in the time that John Barnet, bishop of Ely, was treasurer of England, the said bishop of Winchester, of his own authority and without any warrant, caused to be taken out of the king's treasury 10,000 marks to buy tallies for the king's profit, as he said ; which sum remained in his hands two years and more : and afterwards he returned into the said treasury, for the said sum, tallies amounting to the sum of 12,500 marks or thereabouts. So he made the king's profit but 2,500 marks, whereas he bought £100 for £25, and therefore, in reason, the king's increase and profit should have been about 27,000 marks." Eighth article.

The tallies were of the nature of assurances, given to those who had lent money, for future payment in full. In the lack of ready money, they had been given in plenty, and now the public credit had fallen so low, that the creditors were glad to part with them for a quarter of the sum named upon them. And perhaps it may have been the truest charity which induced Wykeham (if the story be true at all) to buy them up at the fourth of their original value. But his accusers absurdly go on to complain that what he refunded into the treasury, besides the 10,000 marks which he had taken out for the purpose of buying them, was only about 2,500 marks ; and they imply that what he should have paid was the 40,000 marks which had originally been borrowed, and of which he had appropriated more than 26,000 marks. Surely, an absurder accusation was never framed. That in two years he was able to make the profit amount to as much as 2,500 marks, implies no small financial ingenuity : that he should have quadrupled the 10,000 marks could have been the serious expectation of no one. But anything, however preposterous, served his enemies' purpose, which was simply to swell the number of counts in his accusation. Having served this purpose, the charge was dropped, as no doubt it was meant from the first to be.

Wykeham's
trial compared
with Latimer's.

We should lose much of the fine irony of the whole proceeding if we did not note how exactly the matter of these articles balanced the matter of the articles exhibited shortly before by Wykeham, or, at least, the commons of his party, against Latimer. Latimer had been charged with having caused the surrender of two castles: Wykeham, with having caused the loss of a whole district full of castles. Latimer had been charged with enriching himself by giving a smaller sum for the king's debts, and receiving a larger for them; Wykeham, with precisely the same offence at another time. But Wykeham's record was heavier than that of Latimer. It is as if Latimer sought to wipe out the memory of his own conviction, by charging Wykeham with frauds of precisely the same kind.

Second
hearing.

On the third day after the former hearing "the bishop came to the council through the hall of Westminster, well accompanied with men, but with a pensive countenance, and with him the bishop of London to comfort him, and some six serjeants of the law of his counsel."¹ William Courtenay, bishop of London, was a nobly-born prelate, the son of an earl of Devon and the daughter of a Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex. He was both on the lords committee for conference with the commons earlier in the year, and one of the assessors who had been appointed to "enforce" the king's council, but whom the duke had dismissed with contumely. Courtenay and Wykeham had acted side by side against the pope, and in the parliament; and now Courtenay boldly took his part against the influence of the court party.

Wykeham and his little party "entered into the White Chamber before the lords: and the duke of Lancaster asked the said bishop whether he were advised, and would deny the points before notified unto him. Then said the bishop:

¹ Appendix (B) to *Introd. Chron. Angl.* p. lxxviii.

‘Sir, to which point shall I answer first?’ ‘You shall know soon enough’ said the duke; and then by commandment a clerk began to read the article how £80 were razed out of the chancery, and how £40 were re-delivered by the clerk of the hanaper of the said chancery to Sir John Grey of Rotherfield, by reason of a bargain passed between the said bishop and the said Sir John Grey as is aforesaid; and how the first charter was cancelled, and another charter made, of the same tenor and date, for a fine of £40.”¹

In other words, the duke elected to begin with the fifth article of accusation, that of illegal remission of fine to John, lord Grey. John, lord Grey, of Rotherfield, now called Rotherfield Greys, near Henley-on-Thames, in the county of Oxford, had paid into the chancery £80 for a license to take possession of certain lands and tenements in the year 1367. But there had already been dealings between the Chancellor and lord Grey, and the charge was that Wykeham, on a private understanding with Grey, caused the indenture of fine to be cancelled, another to be made of half the amount, and repaid the other half to Grey. Nothing further is known about the case; but at all events this charge was not one of personal appropriation, for Grey and not Wykeham was the gainer by the change: it was that he “deceived the king.” And yet the transaction was obviously not done in secret, but transacted in the full light of open day.

The bishop, on the charge being read, “first offered to discharge himself by oath, which the lords would not suffer because he could not loyally be gainsaid.” If they had suffered him to take his oath that he was innocent in the matter, there would have been an end of the proceeding; no one thereafter could have raised the question without accusing a bishop of perjury, a length to which none of the

¹ Appendix (B) to Introd. *Chron. Angl.* p. lxxix.

court party cared to go. "And therefore he had another day assigned him."

Third hearing.

Three days after he was again summoned. "The third day again he came into the council, and was questioned with about the razing of the rolls." His answer was two-fold. "Hereto he answered that the said razing was never made for his advantage or profit, but for alms, for it was evil enrolled and contrary to conscience." His first plea was that he had had no private interest in the matter, as was obvious upon the face of it; that he had caused the change to be made because the charge was preposterously high, and he could not in good conscience be party to the king's receiving such a large fine; he had therefore remitted £40 "for alms," that is in free gift to lord Grey. His second plea was general. "Besides, that to this matter he ought not by law to answer, for at the time he was Chancellor, the secondary in England next to the king; which office is of such authority that he that is Chancellor is not bound to account for his office, but all that he doeth is to be allowed."

On the first plea his enemies had nothing to say: the presumption is that the facts were exactly as the bishop stated them. But more than one was ready with an answer to the second. "Hereto among the rest" (*i.e.*, among several other answers that were made), "Sir William Skipwith, justice, said: 'Sir bishop, the law is that every of the king's officers, in whatsoever office he be, and [if he] hath the king's goods in his hands, is bound to account for his office, as well the Chancellor and Treasurer as any other. And it is found'—here he was, as legal assessor, pronouncing the judgment of the great council—'that you have concealed the king's goods, and that you have caused the rolls of the chancery to be razed to the great hurt of the king; and there is a statute that whosoever causeth the said rolls to be razed in any sum to the deceiving of the king, for every

penny shall pay to the king 100 marks. And the sum of this razing by you made amounteth to £40, and therefore by account the sum wherein you are indebted to our lord the king amounteth to 960,000 marks.' And so they departed for that day."

The council could not have come to a more preposterous conclusion. The Chancellor was not to be at liberty to settle the amount of the fines payable by intending purchasers; and an indenture for enrolment in the chancery was such a sacred thing that, before it was enrolled, the Chancellor might not cancel it and enrol another instead! All turned on the motive with which Wykeham had done it; and this the council persisted, in spite of his solemn denial, was "the deceiving of the king." Therefore, he was seriously adjudged to pay the enormous fine of £64,000, or about £800,000 of our present money.

But this was only a sample of what the council intended to do by way of revenge. "Another day he was brought up to answer to the rest of the articles. The fourth day after he came to the council, and was apposed upon the other points aforesaid; and many points were proved against him, which he could not deny; and, therefore, the duke of Lancaster, the king's lieutenant, with others of his society, counselled to forejudge him."¹ No doubt the facts of the capture of the castles of Ponthieu were fresh in the memory of all, and Wykeham could not deny this: what he could and would have denied was his own responsibility for the sudden invasion, and for the disposal of the subsidies and ransoms, and for the deliverance of the royal dukes. Still, duke John had a plausible case against him, which made him urge the council not to wait for all the forms to be gone through, but to condemn him at once. This might possibly have been done, had it not been for the

Lancaster
urges instant
condemnation;

¹ Appendix (B) to *Introd. Chron. Angl.* p. lxxix.

the bishops
resist this.

interference of the bishops present. "But the bishops then present would not suffer it, as concerning his parson, and said unto the lords that as concerning his parson and his spiritualties they had not to do nor to judge."¹ They took their stand upon the rights of their order. They, no doubt, urged that a bishop, even though liable to be tried by a king's court, was not liable to any penalty there to be inflicted, but that he must be handed over to the Church, to be tried by the archbishop, who alone could deprive him of his spirituals.

Temporals of
his see forfeited
to the king.

"And, therefore, the lords of the council, with the king's assent, seized and took away his temporalities to the king's pleasure." The duke, not able to get him condemned otherwise, suggested the forfeiture of the temporals, and the king readily agreed to his wish. This was done "without answer"²—without giving him further opportunity of self-defence. On November 17th, writs were issued from the Exchequer to the sheriffs of the counties in which the temporals lay, directing them to seize such temporals into the hands of the king. Wykeham was dismissed for the present, but desired to attend again for a further examination on January 20th, in the coming year 1377. The duke was not even satisfied with this, but issued a proclamation, in the king's name, forbidding Wykeham to approach within twenty miles of the royal person.

Wykeham for-
bidden to come
within twenty
miles of the
king.

Wykeham had gone to his palace at Southwark, and was there when the council broke up, which it did on the 6th of December. He prepared with a heavy heart to obey the law. He left Southwark within a week of this date, and went to Merton, in Surrey, where he was received in the priory of Austin Friars, of which Robert Windsor was prior. There he staid for three weeks, till after January

He goes to
Merton abbey.

¹ Appendix (B) to *Introd. Chron. Angl.* p. lxxx.

² "Absque responso."—*Chron. Angl.* p. 106.

7th ; for Merton, although within twenty miles of London, was beyond that distance from Havering, where the king then was. But the king was getting better, and at the beginning of the year "began to recover with the help of the physicians, and by restoratives and good meats, and fresh broths, and by sops of wheat-bread in caudles of goat's milk, for other food he could neither eat nor taste."¹ He seems to have been moved to London in January, and consequently bishop Wykeham, who had by this time received the king's letters proroguing the hearing of his case indefinitely, had to move from Merton, in order to put himself once more at the required distance from the royal person. On the 21st of January he dates from "Novus locus," which seems to be Hyde abbey, near Winchester.² But by the 1st of February he was certainly at Waverley, taken in by the Cistercian abbey, not far from Farnham. In truth, his condition at this time was most forlorn. His castles and manor houses were no longer his but the king's ; Southwark, Farnham, and Wolvesey were no doubt occupied by the king's sequestrators. "They hunted the said bishop from place to place, both by letters and by writs, so that no man could succour him throughout his diocese, neither could he, neither durst he, rest in any place. And therefore he then brake up household, and scattered his men and dismissed them, for that he could no longer govern and maintain them ; sending also to Oxford, where upon alms and for God's sake he found [*i.e.*, was supporting] seventy scholars, that they should depart and remove every one to their friends, for he could no longer help or find them ; and so they all departed in great sorrow and discomfort, weeping, and with simple cheer."³

to Hyde abbey,

and to
Waverley
abbey,

dismissing his
household, and
Oxford
scholars.

¹ Appx. (A) to *Introd. Chron. Angl.* p. xxiv.

² "Monasterium de novo loco" was one of the many names of Hyde abbey, near Winchester. It is probable, therefore, that he was taken in by the abbot of Hyde, Thomas Pechy.

³ App. (B) to *Introd. Chron. Angl.* p. liii.

But Wykeham was not one easily to lose heart. He gave thanks to God, Heath tells us, who scourged him so mercifully. He looked on all these tribulations as meant to teach him patience; he remembered the example of Job, and the Beatitude, which says, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake."¹

Meanwhile, duke John had been busy with lord Percy,² preparing the measures to be submitted to the next parliament, which had been summoned for January 27th; and the men who were to deal with them, for he did not hesitate to pack the parliament to support his own views. He managed to secure the rejection of all except twelve of the knights of the shire who sat in the last parliament: those twelve their constituents stoutly refused to part with at his pleasure.

Change of
ministry;
clericals again
in power.

Shortly before the parliament met, the duke changed the king's ministers, exchanging the "men of law" for "men of holy Church." This looks surprising at first sight, but its causes are not far to seek. His conduct towards Wykeham had alienated the clerical estate. Yet it was absolutely necessary to get a liberal grant from the parliament; and therefore he wished to court the clergy by choosing his chief advisers from among them. And there was one cleric especially of whom the duke took pains to make a friend. This was John Wiclif, whom he had met at Bruges, and whose influence as a demagogue he thought might prove useful later on. Wiclif caught at the alliance, being far too unworldly to suspect his patron's motive for the respect he paid him.

The new Chancellor and Treasurer, we may be sure, were men not opposed to Wiclif's tenets, and at the same time men who were in no sense of the party of reform. The Chancellor was Adam Houghton, bishop of St. David's; the Treasurer, Henry Wakefield, bishop of Worcester.

¹ Heath, 19.

² *Chron. Angl.* p. 109.

The parliament met on January 27th, nominally under the presidency of young prince Richard, but really under the guidance of duke John. On the 28th, bishop Houghton, after a long-winded sermon, applied for help for the king's needs, and gave the commons the choice of four ways in which it might be levied. Then Sir Robert Aston, one of the royal chamberlains, spoke, being charged by the king with words which hardly befitted the mouth of a prelate. He complained of the papal usurpations, and said that he purposed to lay before the parliament certain articles which would lay the basis of a settlement between the pope and king. Then the lords and commons separated to their respective houses. A lords' committee, consisting of four bishops, four earls, and four barons, was appointed, as usual, to confer with the commons ; of which duke John's influence secured that more than half should be the same persons who had been lord Latimer's sureties the year before. His influence also secured the election of a speaker devoted to his interest, Sir John Hungerford, his own steward. Notwithstanding this, the few members who had belonged to the last parliament proposed to petition for De la Mare's release from prison ; but they were silenced by threats of personal violence, and the commons took seriously in hand the debate upon the aid to be granted to the king.

Parliament,
January, 1377

Before it was over, the convocation had met, on the 3rd of February. Wykeham had not, of course, been summoned to parliament ; but he had been summoned to attend convocation in the usual course ; for the writs, though in the archbishop's name, were issued by his friend bishop Courtenay of London. Nevertheless he was not there, being doubtless kept away by the royal proclamation which forbade his approaching within twenty miles of the king. But bishop Courtenay insisted that they ought to do nothing without him.¹ The whole episcopate had been insulted by

Wykeham
summoned to
convocation,

and bishop
Courtenay
insists on his
being present.

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 114.

the gross treatment of one of their brethren ; and not only they, but the whole Church in them. Wykeham was as much a member of the convocation as they ; the matters to be discussed touched him as deeply as any of them, and therefore he ought to be there. Courtenay insisted that the archbishop should send him a personal message of invitation.

The archbishop
sends for him
and he comes.

Sudbury hesitated, and pleaded the king's express prohibition. But the bishops declined altogether to proceed to business unless Wykeham was present. Under these circumstances, the archbishop gave way. He sent and fetched him from Waverley : "and Wykeham," says the chronicler, "immediately came to London, with a small number of servants, who aforetime was thought to excel all others in multitude of servants. He was joyfully received by his fellow-bishops, and (as became such a person) greatly honoured."¹ This happened before the 20th of February, 1377.

Wiclif tried at
St. Pauls.

While both parliament and convocation were sitting, Wiclif was summoned to answer for his teaching at St. Paul's, on the 19th. He appeared, bringing duke John with him : high words passed between the duke and bishop Courtenay, a riot was the consequence, and the duke fled for his life to the princess of Wales. She attempted to mediate, and the Londoners replied by coupling the names of Wykeham and De la Mare as ill-used Englishmen, and demanding for them both that they should be judged by their peers.² This was on the 20th ; and on the 22nd, the duke came to Westminster as one who went in fear of his life. He and lord Percy brought armed soldiers with them, and came through back ways, where he would be unlikely to meet with opposition. The commons—perhaps

¹ The quotation is taken from MS. Harl. 6217, which is only a translation of *Chron. Angl.* p. 114.

² *Chron. Angl.* p. 126.

awed by his armed retinue—agreed upon a poll-tax of fourpence a head, to be collected on every one above the age of fourteen. Certain of the lords and commons visited Sheen, now Richmond, to which the king had been removed; and there, “in his presence and in that of the duke, were rehearsed the articles of the general pardon and grace which the king himself has made to the commons,” taking occasion from the completion of the fiftieth year of his reign, which had ended on the 24th of the previous month. But from this act of clemency Wykeham was excepted by name. “By no means,” say the Rolls of Parliament, “is it the king’s pleasure that Sir William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, shall be comprehended within the pardon and grace aforesaid, or enjoy anything of them.”¹

General pardon
at king’s
jubilee,

except to
Wykeham.

The deputation of parliament returned to London on the 23rd; and then followed the usual public recital of the petitions and the answers to them. Next day followed a solemn farce. The Speaker asked if the king would pardon on the occasion of his jubilee the persons whom the late parliament had condemned; that is, he asked that their pardon might be recorded on the rolls of parliament as publicly as was their condemnation. The duke asked for their names: they had not yet been produced, when a message from the king dissolved the parliament. But the petitions without their answer were allowed to stand on the Parliamentary Rolls. The Speaker by them petitions the king in favour of Richard Lyons and Alice Perrers among the rest. With regard to the latter, he prays that “seeing that she, by untrue suggestion, was in the last parliament deprived of the common liberty which all loyal subjects have a right to enjoy, the said judgment may be repealed, and that she be restored entirely to her former estate, notwithstanding the judgment, or any defence against

Parliament
dissolved.

¹ Rot. Parl. ii, p. 365.

it, made on behalf of the said Alice in the same parliament."

We do not know whether the minor offenders were still in prison or not ; but it is most unlikely, considering the influence that for some time had prevailed. Nor are we absolutely certain that Lady Windsor had not been in prison, as this petition certainly represents her as having been. But, again, it is most unlikely ; considering that for the last seven months duke John and Latimer had been at the helm, that she assuredly was not condemned like the others in the late parliament, and that since September, at least, she had been again with the king. It looks like a solemn farce, by which the duke wished to get them publicly acquitted by the same tribunal by which they had been condemned. And though according to the forms of parliament he was not able to do this, no doubt the Speaker's petition for them gave a show of *ex post facto* legality to their release.

Temporals of
see of Win-
chester given to
prince Richard,
March 15th ;

The vindictiveness by which the duke excepted Wykeham from the general pardon was speedily followed by another oppressive measure, combining in itself several different objects. By a grant¹ dated March 15th, the king settled the temporals of the see of Winchester upon young prince Richard, in part payment of 4,000 marks a-year, which he was to have as prince of Wales. The reasons for this stroke of policy were : first, that it saved the Exchequer expense ; secondly, that it would secure Wykeham's perpetual exclusion from his temporals ; thirdly, and perhaps chiefly, that it promised to divide the party of opposition by detaching young Richard from Wykeham's interests, while it would be gall and wormwood to Wykeham to see the son of his old friend, prince Edward, enjoying the use and profits of his estates and manors.

For the young prince of Wales was a main factor in the

¹ Rym. vii, p. 142.

new political situation. He himself no doubt was but a boy of eleven years old ; but his mother, once the "fair maid of Kent," possessed still great influence with the populace, as duke John had lately found. She lived at Kennington¹ with her son, a short row down the Thames from Westminster, and all her sympathies were upon Wykeham's side ; which was also the popular side, for Wykeham was looked upon as a persecuted man as much as the popular hero, Peter de la Mare.

But the malice of the duke was soon to be frustrated. On June 18th the temporals were restored to Wykeham.² Before prince Richard, the duke of Lancaster, and the king's council, the earls of March, Arundel, and Warwick became sureties for Wykeham that he would fit out at his own expense three galleys, each manned with fifty men-at-arms and fifty archers, and pay their salaries for three months, the king finding the mariners' wages. In case there was no need of such voyage, he was to pay to the king a reasonable equivalent to the wages of the said three hundred men.³ In return for this promise the king restored his temporals, the use of his castles and manor houses.⁴

restored to
Wykeham,
June 18th.

What produced this sudden reversal of affairs? Our chronicler, never at a loss, gives the current gossip of the time as follows :—

Gossip of St.
Alban's chron-
icler accounting
for this.

"Meantime the bishop of Winchester, who had suffered many losses and wrongs, when he saw that the laws of the land were administered not justly but capriciously, and that he was bereft of nearly all human aid, had recourse (though he knew how unbefitting him it would be) to woman's help. In truth, he was

¹ *Chron., Angl.* p. 124.

² *Rym.* vii, p. 148.

³ This amounted to £1,988. 14s. 6½d., and 9 quarters of oats.—*Rym.* vii, p. 149.

⁴ "Temporalia predicta cum pertinentiis, una cum feodis militum advocacionibus ecclesiarum, et omnibus aliis ad temporalia illa quovis modo spectantibus sive pertinentibus, prefato episcopo restituta sunt."—*Rot. Parl.* iii. p. 387. The king did it by letters patent to prince Richard, commanding him to restore the temporals of the see of Winchester.—*Rym.* loc. cit.

forced by necessity, and therefore he did what was [not] right, out of care not so much for his own as for his Church's oppressions and losses. So, knowing well that Alice Perrers, the king's mistress, could do anything that she wanted, and that no one would even if he could gainsay her will, he begged help of her, offered her money, and promised to serve her. Whether, with a view to better speeding, he promised anything unbecoming his condition as a bishop, you may easily guess if you are acquainted with a harlot's ways; especially as the case was an uphill one, the enemy was strong, and she herself was greedy and covetous.¹ She then not refusing that which was offered, and hired (as is said) for a sufficient reward, went to try if any sparks of love yet lived in the king, if the deceits of a harlot might now as of old find a place in him. But he, long since taken with her love, was now soothed with her speech and prayers, and would deny her nothing that she asked. Therefore, against the duke's will, he commanded the temporals to be restored; and so the bishop, through right and unright, making himself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, recovered what he had lost. The duke, although he was much hurt at what Alice had done contrary to his desire, yet, fearing the king's wrath, purposed to be silent for a time, deferring his revenge until times better suited for retaliation."

Thus the charge laid at Wykeham's door by the St. Albans' chronicler is that he, despairing of regaining his rights by fair means, recovered them by bribing the king's mistress. Is this charge likely to be true? We assert emphatically that it is most improbable.

The story has been widely circulated. It is found in Walsingham, in Stow, in Malvern's continuation of Higden, in archbishop Parker's notes. But this Chronicle, which was first printed in 1874, gives the story in its original shape, and from hence Walsingham, Stow, Malvern, and Parker (who possessed the Chronicle in MS.), all derived it. Hence we have not to deal with a story vouched for by many witnesses, but only by one.

¹ This is the only way in which I can understand the following almost untranslatable sentence:—"Si in convenientiam episcopali statui ulla spondit, ut facilius expediret, quisquis mores meretricis agnoveris minime dubitabis: præcipue cum foret causa ejus ardua, valida pars adversa, et illa nimis cupida et avara."

Is the Chronicle, then, a reliable witness for what it relates? Here we come at once to the root of the matter. It has been the fashion of late years to trust unreservedly to this newly-discovered authority. But soberness compels us to record our conviction that the Chronicle, although of much and deep interest, is not trustworthy in some of its details.

Estimate of
the veracity of
the chronicler.

It possesses the interest of a vivid history, written very soon after the events which it records, by one who seems to have had singular opportunities for knowing the details of some of the scenes of which he writes.¹ But it is written with an evident bias, and all through the bias is painfully prominent. The reason is not far to seek. The animosity which guided the writer's pen was religious. He was a monk, and the bitterest hatred of the monks was poured out upon John Wiclif. The history is a graphic romance, in which all the Wicliffites are painted black, all the adherents of the old doctrine white. Hence the duke of Lancaster throughout is the demon of the story, for whom nothing can be too fiendish or black. Under the reign of the Lancastrian kings the different MSS. of the Chronicle were obliged to modify² some of the expressions as to his character, but without being able substantially to alter the tenor of the whole narrative. Hence, too, Lady Windsor is in the chronicler's pages a bye-word for all that is bad and unwomanly. A personal motive, moreover, envenoms his words about her; she had put the abbot of St. Alban's³ to the trouble of a long lawsuit in order to regain certain lands in Hertfordshire which she had wrongfully seized. In like manner all of the opposite party are glorified:—Edward, prince of Wales, Sir Peter de la Mare, and Wykeham.

¹ See chap. 9, the account of the riot in London, pp. 118—126.

² Introd. pp. xix—xxiii.

³ Introd. p. lxiii.

But with this general bias in favour of Wykeham and his party, how comes it that he attributes to him such an act of baseness as this? Is it not the more likely that this story is true, since one of his admirers is the authority upon which the discrediting tale is given? The answer is that we do not attribute to the chronicler the invention of this story. He probably gave it as he heard it: indeed, he confesses as much by the "*ut dicitur*" with which the marrow of the whole story, Alice's over-persuasion of the king, is introduced.¹ It is probably a true shred of the gossip of the time, and was invented to account, in a way which the populace could understand, for the sudden collapse of the persecution under which Wykeham had suffered.

His story very
improbable.

Is it a likely story? Everything is against its probability. To say nothing of Wykeham's well-known integrity and blamelessness of character, and to put the probability on the lowest ground, what adequate motive had he for so acting? It must have been perfectly notorious by this time that the king was dying, and consequently that Perrers' reign was also drawing to an end. The king did, in fact, die on June 21st, three days only after the grant which restored Wykeham's temporals. With that event the parties were reversed: the opposition came into power, Wykeham was courted, duke John retired, and Alice Perrers sank into well-merited contempt. It has been suggested that possibly a desire that he might so shield Richard from evil advisers, when left alone, was the reason why Wykeham obtained his restoration through such an unworthy instrument. But if he had waited quietly, he would to a certainty have had them restored on Richard's

¹ The hesitation with which he shrinks from directly accusing the bishop is also noticeable. "*Si in convenientiam episcopali statui ulla sponddit, ut facilius expedit, quisquis mores meretricis agnoveris minime dubitabis.*" This is all he says.

accession without so sullyng his character. It has also been suggested that Wykeham longed so heartily for reconciliation with the old king before his end, that he was blind to the dishonour of the means through which he obtained it. We may, indeed, assume this feeling on Wykeham's part as highly probable and natural ; but must hesitate to allow, without further proof, that it was allowed to lead him to the commission of such a vile act. It might have been, indeed, that Lady Windsor herself, seeing what was inevitably coming, and willing to ingratiate herself if possible with the opposition, begged the king to right Wykeham, and that at first it was opposed by the duke. Whether we shall think this probable or not depends on the credit we give to the details of this gossiping piece of scandal. Perhaps we shall be safer to reject it as untrue from beginning to end.

On the morning of June 21st it became evident that the king was at the point of death. A deputation of the citizens of London waited on the young prince at Kennington,¹ protested their devotion to him; begged him to trust himself in the city, and to reconcile them with duke John. They were graciously answered ; but while—

" The swarm that in his noontide beam were born
Went to salute the rising morn."

—king Edward died forsaken by all his servants, even by Alice Perrers herself. She decamped with the very rings off his fingers, in wrath at having been repelled by him the day before.² Only an unknown priest remained by his death-bed and held the crucifix before him, which he kissed devoutly, and expired a few minutes after. This was the end of the magnificent king whose splendour had once been the pride of England. His people were still half proud of

Death of king
Edward,
June 21st.

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 147, says Kingston ; but this is probably an error.

² *Chron. Angl.* pp. 143, 144.

him, half weary of the mis-government of his later years ; and they all looked with eager hope to the reign of his grandson, the son of their beloved hero, prince Edward.

Demeanour of
Wykeham.

As for Wykeham, he went about his diocesan work as composedly as if no reverse of fortune had lately happened to him. He must indeed have rejoiced to think that he had been at peace with the king when he died, though we do not hear of any interview after the reconciliation. But one thing is very noticeable. The earlier years of his episcopal Register are full of notices of political events, as became a trusted servant of the crown. Thus his diocese is bidden to pray for the continuance of peace, or for the safety of the armies of the princes in France ; for the soul of Lionel, duke of Clarence ; of the first duchess of Lancaster ; of queen Philippa : but there is no mention of either politics or king during the troubles of this year. His episcopal duties go on as uninterruptedly as before ; it would be impossible to detect, from any slackening in them, that he was in disgrace during these months. But not a word, bad or good, does he record about the king. There is no bidding his subjects pray for him during his illness, nor for his soul after his death. He simply does not mention him at all. He passes by the subject in sad, impenetrable silence.

Wykeham at
coronation of
king Richard II.

Wykeham was present in his place at the coronation of the young king on July 19th. A fortnight later, on July 31st, two writs passed the Privy Seal.

General pardon
to Wykeham.

By the first of these¹ the king granted Wykeham pardon of the fifth article of the charge against him, in consequence of which his temporals had been forfeited ; remission of all the burdens laid on him when they were restored ; and all profits of the said temporals, which had been due to the king, then prince of Wales.

¹ Appendix, Rot. Parl. iii, p. 387.

By the second,¹ the king grants him acquittal on the other seven articles, which, it will be remembered, were still kept *in terrorem* over him, having been postponed indefinitely from the last January. "Reviewing with the eyes of our mind," he says, "the welcome, useful, and praiseworthy services in times past rendered to our said grandfather by the aforesaid bishop of Winchester, who for him underwent heavy and costly toils, and the high place which in various ways the said bishop held with our dearest lord our father in his undertakings, and the special affection and hearty love which the same lord our father bore and entertained while he was alive towards the aforesaid bishop, . . . we wholly, for ourselves and our heirs, disburthen, acquit, and utterly absolve him for ever of the aforesaid articles, and of all other crimes and offences whatsoever, . . . willing that all men should know that, although we have granted unto the bishop of Winchester the said pardons and graces, . . . yet we do not think the said bishop to be in any wise blameworthy in God's sight of any of the matters thus by us pardoned, remitted, or released to him; but do hold him, as to all and every of them, wholly innocent and guiltless."

Thus were as full and hearty amends made him as the bishop could have hoped for. He was now free from the malice of his enemies, at liberty to set again about his munificent educational designs. No concession, indeed, could wholly compensate for the annoyance and expense to which he had been subjected: he is calculated by one who was in a position to know to have expended first and last on this affair not less than 10,000 marks²—a sum nearly amounting to £10,000 of our present money.³

¹ Appendix Rot. Parl. iii, p. 388.

² Aylward, f. 7.

³ It was not till three years afterwards (25th August, 1380) that the king, on Wykeham's prayer, annulled all the 'collations and presentations' made by his grandfather before 15th February [March?], 1377. This shows that king Edward, or duke John for him, had been, as usual, presenting to benefices, etc., as if in the vacancy of the see.

The king
reconciles duke
John and
Wykeham.

The young king was not content with this: he wished his subjects to be at peace, we are told, and he restored concord and unity between the duke of Lancaster and the bishop of Winchester.¹ On one side, at least, there would be no hesitation or shrinking from a hearty reconciliation; and whenever afterwards the duke crossed Wykeham's path, we find an ungrudging welcome, as if the events of this disastrous year had never taken place, or not been due to his enmity alone. Nay more, they at last became firm political friends, united in their opposition to the despotic tendencies of this very king who now brought them together. But all this was as yet in the future.

Wykeham
purchases
lands.

During these years, Wykeham had been not unmindful of his heirs; for by this time he seems to have settled that the eldest son of his niece, Alice Champneys, and William Perot, should succeed to his landed property. On the 6th May, 1376 (under royal license), he bought the manor of Eling, near Southampton, from the Camoys family, and sold it to his niece and nephew-in-law for the nominal sum of seven francs; but subsequently changed his mind, and left the manor to Winchester College.² Also in 1377 (presumably late in the year, when he was restored to his full rights), he bought Broughton Castle, near Swalcliffe, with the adjoining manor, and subsequently settled his heir there. The fact that a Thomas Wykham was in possession of Swalcliffe, and of an actual part of Broughton, is certainly a curious coincidence, and has given rise to much speculation concerning the family of the bishop of Winchester.³ In 1382 he bought the advowson of Swalcliffe of the same Thomas Wykham, and gave it to his college in Oxford.

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 150.

² British Museum, Additional Charters, 5538. Sir Thomas Camoys afterwards (1409) tried to regain this manor by a suit in the King's Bench against the warden and fellows of Winchester College. The latter part of the same MS. is given by Lowth, as No. III of his Appendix, from an ancient ledger-book in Winchester College.

³ See Appendix A, at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER VII.

WYKEHAM ON STATE COMMISSIONS.

A.D. 1377—1389.

THE duke of Lancaster was too far-sighted a politician not to perceive that the death of his father and the accession of his nephew was a critical epoch for his own influence on the nation. The French could not understand how it was that duke John, who had been virtually king of England for so long, did not at once set aside young Richard, and make himself actually king. But the duke, whatever may have been his wishes, had found himself too unpopular with the lower orders to be willing to risk the actual usurpation of the crown ; he was far from being a Richard III, who did not care what deeds of violence stood between him and the object of his desire. He held his hand ; and it was left for his son to attain the height to which his father would fain have climbed, when more than twenty years after the king had wearied the nation out with the foolish recklessness of his attempts at despotism.

Duke John's
hesitation ;

On the moment, Lancaster took as wise a course for his future power as he could. He retired to Kenilworth castle, and apparently left the game in the hands of the opposite party. But meanwhile he found means to procure the appointment to the council of several of his own adherents, though he himself, with his brothers, earls Edmund of Cambridge and Thomas of Buckingham, were excluded from the administration.

he retires, and
is not one of
the council.

Parliament
meets ;

commons
appoint De la
Mare their
Speaker.

Council
remodelled.

Alice Perrers
forced to
submit to her
old sentence.

Thus, the composition of the council bore tokens of a compromise. There was earl Edmund of March and bishop Courtenay of London ; but also there was lord Latimer and bishop Erghum of Salisbury, both allies of the duke. The parliament met on October 13th, and the commons, in requesting (as was now usual) the assistance of a number of lords to consult with them, named ¹ the duke of Lancaster at their head. This gave the duke the opportunity he wanted of disavowing any treasonable designs against his nephew, which was graciously accepted. They then proceeded to business, and showed at once their reforming bias by appointing Sir Peter de la Mare their Speaker. Having done this, they next proceeded to lengths which clearly showed that they looked on the king's minority as their special opportunity. They proposed eight new members for the council, and prayed that they might have the appointment of ministers till the king was of age, and that all who had been attainted during the last reign might be excluded from the council. Their proposals were agreed to ; the council was remodelled, and lord Latimer excluded from it.

The commons were then dismissed, after granting large supplies : but before they dispersed, they had requested the lords, who continued in session some time longer, to take into consideration the case of Alice Perrers,² who though impeached before them in 1376, and found guilty, had been rehabilitated by the next parliament. In consequence of this, the lords reheard the case,³ and compelled her to submit to the sentence passed on her by themselves in the "good parliament ;" and all her forfeited estates were adjudged to be applied to the relief of the people.

¹ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 5.

² Id. pp. 12, 13, 14.

³ The trial was by jury before a committee of the house, consisting of the duke of Lancaster and four earls.—Lingard, iii, p. 276 ; cf. too *Chron. Angl.* p. 171.

One thing more they had done before they separated : they had petitioned the king in favour of Wykeham.¹ They were not content with the full pardons which the king had already granted him ; but, as if they would mark specially the special malice with which he had been condemned unheard, they petitioned the king that he would “ by the advice and common consent of the prelates, the duke [of Lancaster], the earls, barons, and other lords, and the commons, affirm, approve, ratify, and confirm in this present parliament, your said charters, with all the articles, pardons, graces, remissions, and circumstances whatsoever in them contained, to the honour of God, and for the safety and surety of the estate of the said bishop, and of his church of Winchester.” To which the king made gracious answer, that he did “ by his own person, and by his own mouth,” as well as by the advice of his parliament, “ fully grant this petition, and directed that the said charter of pardon be now ratified under his Great Seal.”

Petition in
favour of
Wykeham.

To all this we see that duke John was a consentient party. Nor need it surprise us that it was so, for the ebullition of his wrath was over, and he, like his father, was lightly offended and lightly reconciled. And he was now playing a deeper game for power.

But by his ill-success in the French war, joined to the overbearingness of his manners, he lost much popularity during the three next years. He contrived, however, to keep himself on good terms with the king and court ; the ministers were his friends, and his old ally Richard, lord Scrope of Bolton, was Chancellor. Still no gleam of success visited the English arms, and in January, 1380, Scrope appealed to parliament for a greater aid than ever. The parliament granted it, but conditionally on the appointment of a commission to reform the king's household,² and

Wykeham on
commission to
reform king's
household.

¹ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 24.

² Rot. Parl. iii, p. 73.

the license to parliament to select the king's ministers. In consequence of this, Scrope resigned the Great Seal, which was taken by archbishop Sudbury ; and Wykeham was one of the commissioners to reform the household. With him were fourteen others, of every shade of political character ; among them the earl of Arundel, lord Latimer, William Walworth, and John Philipot, of London.

Imposition of
poll-tax.

Villeins' revolt,
1381.

But the king had got what he wanted, and was in no haste to keep his promises. Though the commission was promised in February, it was not actually granted till May, and it had not proceeded to business by November, when the commons petitioned the king that it might have facilities for meeting, and begin work on the 20th of the next January (1381).¹ In the same parliament a poll-tax, to be levied from all persons above fifteen years of age, was granted ; two-thirds of the sum was to be paid by January 13th, the rest by Whit-Sunday.² Thus the heaviest part of the tax had already been collected before the commission began its labours. And now it was too late. Disaffection smouldered throughout the home counties during all the spring months, and broke into open violence by the beginning of June, when the balance of the tax was due. To the standing grievance of villein-services, demanded from a whole class of society which had been gradually reduced from a higher standing, there was now added this poll-tax, which brought home to every man and woman in England the indigence of the country. And this roused their wrath against the administration that did not devise a remedy for such a state of things, and the royal household, which, as if in mockery of their sufferings, was never more lavish in its expenditure than now. Three days after (June 5th) Whit-Sunday the Kentishmen rose, and in a week (12th) were in possession of Southwark. Next day (13th)

¹ A les octaves Seint Hiller proschein, p. 93.

² p. 70.

they entered the city, burning the palace of the Savoy, from hatred to duke John, who was absent in Scotland. The next day (14th) they broke into the Tower, where they insulted the princess of Wales, and murdered the Chancellor (the archbishop of Canterbury) and the Treasurer. On the 15th, Wat, the tiler of Maidstone, was killed at a conference with the king, who by his bold adroitness and lavish promises succeeded in dispersing the insurgents. This was the crisis of the revolt. In spite of more distant risings, it never again became dangerous. When order was restored, the king revoked his charter of manumission, and punished the rebels with reckless severity. In November, the parliament met, with lord Scrope of Bolton for Chancellor. New taxes they dared not propose, but the commons prayed the king again for reform of his household, the mismanagement of which they declared had caused the revolt;¹ and the commission of the last year being set aside, a new commission was appointed to reform it, with duke John at their head. On this commission, too, Wykeham consented to serve.

Wykeham serves on new commission to reform household.

This commission at least met and agreed upon some regulations; for we find that in the same parliament in its second session in February of the next year (1382), the commons petitioned the king that the officers of the household may take oath before the lords to observe the ordinances recommended by the commissioners;² which petition was granted.

The French at this time were particularly daring in their raids on the south coast. In August, 1377, as soon as they heard of the death of the old king, they had taken the Isle of Wight, and only been dislodged again by the successful skill of Sir Hugh Tyrrell, governor of Carisbrook

Wykeham's orders to the Isle of Wight clergy to arm against the French.

¹ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 100, Wykeham was named among the lords for conference with the commons.

² Id. p. 115.

Castle. In the summer of 1382 they were again threatening the island. But on August the 22nd that year, bishop Wykeham issued a mandate from Highclere, bidding all abbots, priors, and other religious persons both regular and secular, within the island, within the ages of sixty and sixteen, to "arm and array" themselves¹ against a certain day, and make themselves ready to march to the defence of the island.

The duke's influence was waning. The revolt of the villeins had taught him a lesson; he found out the extent of his unpopularity, and became far less overbearing than before. But the king no longer acted solely by his advice: in July, 1382, he turned lord Scrope, the duke's friend, out of the chancellorship, and put bishop Braybrooke of London in his place.

Bishop
Braybrooke of
London
Chancellor.

Wykeham
named for
conference by
commons.

In October the parliament again met; and Wykeham was one of the lords whom the commons named,² petitioning that they might be allowed to confer with them. The question before them was in which of two ways it was the most expedient³ to help the cause of pope Urban against Clement. Pope Urban had sent bulls both to duke John and to bishop Spencer of Norwich, commanding them to head a crusade against his rival. Duke John, who claimed the kingdom of Castile in right of his wife, and who, therefore, is always called in the parliamentary Rolls "my lord of Spain," proposed to lead an army of Castilians against France, the principal kingdom in Clement's interest. But Spencer's crusade was the more popular one with the English, because the pope imposed⁴ a tribute of a tenth part of their incomes on all the clergy, and the rest of the people hoped to escape with only a fifteenth. It was decided in favour of the bishop, to the duke's disgust,

Bishop
Spencer's
crusade.

¹ "Armari et araiari."—Reg. iii, 197.

² Id. p. 134.

³ Id. pp. 133, 134.

⁴ Froissart, ii, 131.

and he set out for Flanders at the head of five thousand men.¹ He was very successful at first; but when he demanded reinforcements, they were detained by the jealousy of the duke; the Flemings took heart, and the bishop returned unsuccessfully. He was coldly received, and deprived of his temporals by the young king.

By this time the chancellorship had been taken from bishop Braybrooke and given (March, 1383) to a new man of the king's own raising, one Michael de la Pole, son of a Hull merchant, who had commanded the fleet against the Scots. Richard was gathering round himself an army of favourites, mostly new men. Such was Sir Robert Tressilian, Chief Justice of the king's bench; Sir Nicholas Bramber, mayor of London; Sir Simon Burley was older, and had been selected by prince Edward for the king's guardian. But all these men were foes to the old baronial party, of which the king's uncles, duke John and earl Thomas of Buckingham were at the head; and with them acted Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, one of the older nobility, but an attached friend of the king's. As to Wykeham, his chief bias in politics was given by his genuine attachment to the young king; an attachment too genuine to allow him to side with the headstrong men who were now the favourites of the king, and who were advising him to his ruin.

Michael de la Pole
Chancellor,
1383.

New favourite

In the autumn of 1383, the parliament met to provide against a threatened war with Scotland. The anti-pope Clement had published a crusade against England, and called upon the Scots to invade it. Hereupon the lords marchers were ordered to their respective districts, that they might take measures for their protection. The lords marchers were such as had estates on the Scottish marches,

Wykeham
opposes the
petition of
lords marche

¹ Wykeham (16th April, 1383) asks the prayers of his diocese for the success of this expedition.—Reg. iii, 200.

and comprised the noblest names of the north of England : the Percies—Wykeham's old enemy, lord Henry Percy of Alnwick, who had been made earl of Northumberland, his son Henry, called Hotspur, and his brother Thomas, afterwards earl of Worcester ; John, lord Nevill of Raby, father of the first earl of Westmoreland ; Roger de Clifford of Brougham, ancestor to the earls of Cumberland ; and Hugh Dacre of Gillesland. These frontier lords petitioned the parliament that part of the funds raised by public taxation for the defence of the nation against the Scots might be apportioned to them. But the bishop of Winchester withstood the demand.¹ They had been enriched, he said, and made lords for this very purpose, that they might defend the borders, and spare the necessity of keeping an army on the spot to resist the raids of the Scots. Their ancestors, who had been comparatively poor and untitled, had won honour in resisting the Scots : why were they to be paid for services which their fathers and grandfathers did for nothing ? It is perfectly clear to whom these words were meant to apply principally. They would not be literally true of Nevill, or Clifford, or Dacre. But lord Percy was the first of his line to obtain an earldom instead of a barony ; and, moreover, he was Wykeham's most persistent enemy. He had not always been so, for he had been among the assessors to the king's council appointed by the good parliament. But then he had been seduced by the offer of the marshal's staff to join the court party, and thenceforward he had been one of the leading persecutors of Wykeham, and supporters of Wycliffe. But two years before this (1381), he had quarrelled with duke John of Lancaster, his great ally of former years. This may have been of weight in determining the issue of the debate. It was settled against the lords marchers : commissions

and carries
his point.

¹ Walsingham, p. 307.

were given them to raise an army to resist the Scots, but no extra pay was promised for this service. Before the end of the year, the Scots had taken Berwick. Northumberland was the governor of Berwick, and it was by corrupting his deputy that the enemy gained this advantage. Hereupon, duke John attacked him in parliament, and actually obtained a sentence of death against him, which was only remitted to him by the favour of the king.¹

For the king was far from being as obsequious to his uncle as he had been, and in 1384 he showed a violent animosity to him. The parliament sate at Salisbury in April, and there a friar accused the duke of treasonable designs. He was soon found murdered—it was said and believed, by earl John Holland of Huntingdon, duke John's son-in-law, whose overbearing violence was such as to make the story credible. Earl Thomas of Buckingham, duke John's brother, espoused his quarrel; the duke himself was employed on foreign service. On his return, the king was about to have him arrested, but he threw himself into Pomfret Castle, which he had victualled and armed to stand a siege, and which he did not leave till the good offices of the princess of Wales had brought about an apparent reconciliation between him and the king.

King angry
with duke
John.

In 1385, the whole kingdom was set in motion against Scotland. The king himself took the field, but the campaign was disturbed by the miserable jealousy of his nobles. The earl of Huntingdon murdered the earl of Stafford's son at York, on their way to Scotland; the Chancellor, lord De la Pole, suggested to the king fresh suspicions of duke John's loyalty, and Richard abruptly withdrew his whole army, having done nothing but destroy Edinburgh and ravage the country. In the autumn, Richard, thinking to please both parties, and at the same time provide a balance

Fresh jealousy
of duke John

¹ Collins' *Historical Peerage*, ii, p. 256.

to the power of his uncle John, gave all the prominent men promotion. On the one hand, both his younger uncles received a further addition to their honours, earl Edmund of Cambridge being made duke of York, earl Thomas of Buckingham duke of Gloucester. This was done to be a makeweight to the promotions of lord De la Pole to be earl of Suffolk, and the earl of Oxford to be marquis of Dublin and duke of Ireland; and at the same time the king quenched duke John's hopes by declaring the young Roger Mortimer, earl of March, the son of Philippa duke Lionel of Clarence's daughter, heir presumptive to the crown.

Wykeham on
commission to
examine the
Exchequer,
1385.

The king returned to hold a parliament in October. The commons asked for a commission to examine into the condition of the Exchequer, and the number of the adherents of the anti-pope; the bishop of Winchester was one of the nine lords nominated upon it, to whom were added two bannerets.¹ But compliance with this and such like requests was as easy a thing to the king as it was to thwart their usefulness when appointed. We shall see that it was made a charge against the Chancellor the next year, that he had hindered the execution of the ordinances issued by this commission.

Meanwhile duke John, attracted by the offer of a Portuguese alliance to invade Castile, applied to the parliament for men and money. The proposal met with astonishing success; the king was glad on any pretext to get rid of his uncle; an army of 20,000 men left England in May 1386,² and landed at Corunna. But

¹ "Item, de savoir queux seigneurs serront ordeinez par le conseil, et qu'ils eiont plein pour a sercher et ordeiner pur touz les voies queux saveront ou purront, en l'Eschequer et aillours, ou il semblera que bon serra, touchant les cxx mill' livres, respensions, sismaticks, et apportes, et touz maners dettes dues a nostre dit Seigneur le Roi. Les Seigneurs ordeinez d'estre du Couseil du Roy, les Evesques de Wynchestre et d'Excestre, et deux Banerets, c'est assavoir" The rest is lost, but a note in Rot. Parl. informs us that the "schismatics" were those who adhered to the anti-pope Clement. Rot. Parl. iii, pp. 203, 204.

² Walsingham, 321.

the French took advantage of this expenditure of men and means, and assembled an immense army at Sluys, intending in August to invade England. The army and fleet were on a grander scale than had ever yet been assembled; no expense was spared. The English were much alarmed, and made every preparation for resistance. Beacons were erected along the coast, and enrolments of soldiers made. All clerks, as before, were ordered by royal brief¹ to the bishops to be enrolled, and adequately armed. But all these preparations both for attack and defence came to nought. When the French were impatient to sail, the wind was against them; when the wind changed, the duke of Berri advised them to defer the invasion till the next spring. The encampment at Sluys broke up for the winter. There was great relief in England. Bishop Wykeham² does not fail in charging his clergy to return thanks for the escape (21st Nov.).

Orders clergy
to be enrolled
to resist
invasion;

and orders
thanks for
escape from
invasion.

But when the immediate stress of the danger was over, a greater one was in store for the peace of the kingdom. The king, at a parliament in October, proposed to attack France, saying it was better to invade than to be invaded,³ and asked for an extraordinary aid. But the place of the leader of the opposition had devolved, in duke John's absence, on his youngest brother, duke Thomas of Gloucester, and he was resolved to carry on internecine war with the favourites. It was just such an opportunity as he wanted; taxation was ruinous, the favourites were thoroughly unpopular, the court was never more extravagant, and the king required money. He suggested to the commons the impeachment of the late Chancellor.⁴ It

Impeachment
of earl of
Suffolk.

¹ Rym, vii, p. 539. Wykeham sends this royal brief to his archdeacons, Reg. iii, 223.

² Reg. iii, 225. He also lent £200 to the king. Rym, vii, 543.

³ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 215.

⁴ Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely was Chancellor. Stubbs, ii, p. 474.

must have been strange for Wykeham to watch the exact imitation of the proceedings against himself at the end of the last reign. Seven charges were prepared against Suffolk; he had enriched himself by accepting lands from the king, and appropriating the king's pensions and revenues; he had not cared to enforce the ordinances of the last household commission; he had mis-applied the money granted for the last year; he had set the Great Seal to illegal charters; he had caused the loss of Ghent.¹ Every one of these charges finds its strict parallel in the charges against Wykeham in 1377. Suffolk was defended by his brother-in-law, lord Scrope of Bolton; but the conclusion was foregone. He was condemned² on three out of the seven charges, to forfeit his lands and to be imprisoned till he should pay £20,000. Had Wykeham's trial been prosecuted, he might have expected exactly the same treatment; but there was one essential difference between the cases. Wykeham had been popular; Suffolk was popular with none but the king and his favourites. Hence the difference between the issues of the two trials.

Wykeham on
the commission
of regency,
1385.

The commons having been successful in striking at the chief of the unpopular administration, followed up their stroke³ by demanding that supreme power should be vested for a year in a commission of regency. Richard struggled hard against this; nevertheless, he was obliged to give in, and sign the commission on the 19th of November to eleven peers who were to act with the new ministers, of whom the chief was Thomas Fitz-Alan, bishop of Ely, brother to the earl of Arundel. There was much in the composition of the new commission that might have encouraged Richard, had he been in a mood to be comforted.⁴ Duke Thomas of Gloucester and Edmund of York, of course, were at

¹ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 216.

² Id. pp. 219, 220.

³ Id. p. 221.

⁴ Stubbs, ii, p. 476.

the head of it, and archbishop Courtenay was an open antagonist of the king's. But archbishop Nevile of York was decidedly on his side; and the two other bishops were Wykeham and his quondam Treasurer, Brantingham of Exeter, both staid men of ripe experience, and the former at least anxiously in earnest to ameliorate the understanding between the king and the nobles. Of the lords, Scrope of Bolton was an old man, of much official experience, the intimate friend of duke John of Lancaster, and the brother-in-law of Suffolk, whose cause he had just unsuccessfully pleaded. It was a commission of moderation, and did not at all show a disposition on the part of its composers to push matters to extremity.

Its powers,¹ however, were singularly large. Any six of them, in conjunction with the three ministers, are empowered to examine the government of the kingdom, court, royal household, revenue, receipts and expenditure. Upon this examination held, they are to correct and determine the future administration of these things as they shall think fit; and to suggest the revocation of this commission is declared to be subject to heavy penalty.

Richard, however, could see nothing but that it deprived him for the time of his whole freedom of action, and that it was led by his uncle of Gloucester, whom he by this time bitterly hated, and whom he never forgave. Before dismissing the parliament, he protested² by his own mouth that nothing done in that parliament should be held to lessen his royal prerogative; and he immediately after released Suffolk without paying any ransom.

The country was now irremediably split into two parties; *State of parties.* and Wykeham, to his regret, must have found himself fairly committed to a side against the king. Yet it was

¹ It is recited at length (in French) in Reg. iii, 228.

² Rot. Parl. iii, p. 224.

the side of reform of much that was scandalously wrong,—the side, moreover, of the present administration, of the archbishop of Canterbury, of the royal dukes, and of the most prominent earls of the generation, Henry of Derby (duke John's son), Thomas Beauchamp of Warwick, Thomas Mowbray of Nottingham, and Richard Fitz-Alan of Arundel. On the other side was archbishop Neville of York, with the bishops of Durham and Chichester; the two lately promoted peers, the duke of Ireland and the earl of Suffolk; and the company of knights whom the king kept round him, Burley, Bramber, Tressilian, and others.

The king
secretly pre-
pares for war.

The blame of resort to open violence must rest with the king and his favourites. When the year allowed to the commissioners began to wear away, the king made frequent progresses through England, and sought to make personal friends of the country gentlemen. At Nottingham (August 25th) he met six judges, and asked their opinion as to the legality of the commission. They replied that it was illegal, and that those who had introduced the measure were liable to punishment as traitors. Richard, keeping this a secret for the present, prepared for a struggle when the commissioners' year should be out. On the 10th of November, he returned to London, and was received with pomp by the citizens. Next day he heard that the nobles had taken up arms, declaring that they were come to deliver the king from the thraldom of the favourites; and on the 14th—in the last week before the commission was to expire—five, hence called lords "appellants," appeared in presence of the commissioners (and therefore of Wykeham), and "appealed," that is accused of treason five of the king's favourites—archbishop Neville, Ireland, Suffolk, Tressilian, and Bramber. The king would not hear them at first, but he soon perceived that he had no power to resist. On the 17th, in Westminster Hall, he received the commis-

Five lords
appellants
appeal the
favourites;

sioners, with Wykeham among them, and the appellants ; and replied that he would summon a parliament, which should do full justice between them and the accused. Meantime, all the five favourites fled. Bramber was taken : the rest saved themselves for the present. The duke of Ireland raised an army of 5000 men, and marched to the Thames ; he was defeated at Radcot and put to flight again by Gloucester and Derby, and this time escaped to Ireland.

The appellants advanced to London ; the king yielded to all their demands. Eleven of the royal favourites were imprisoned ; ten lords and knights, with three ladies, were only released on bail to appear before the parliament. This was summoned for February 3rd, 1388 ;¹ on that day the appellants brought thirty-nine charges against the five lords. Ireland, Suffolk, Bramber, and Tressilian were condemned to be hanged as traitors ; the archbishop to be deprived of his temporals. In March bishop Rushook of Chichester, Sir Simon Burley, and three other knights were tried. In May they were condemned, and all six laymen were executed. The archbishop and bishop were banished the realm. Before the parliament separated in June, the king was forced to repeat his coronation oath, and the peers repeated their homage.

advance with
an army to
London,

and crush their
opponents,
1388.

So ended the work of the "merciless parliament," as it was called. Gloucester and the nobles had obtained a complete victory : the king was crushed, and the band of favourites was fairly stamped out.

The stillness for the time was like the stillness of death. Gloucester ruled the country, and reigned in a far truer sense than the king for the next year. But the king was

The king
crushed for
the moment.

¹ In Reg. ii, 232, is a commission given by Wykeham to a suffragan to confirm for him in his diocese, he "being much hindered by the affairs of the king and the kingdom." It is dated 24th February, 1388 ; Wykeham must have been attending this parliament.

biding his time, and looking forward eagerly to the season of emancipation. Little took place in the meantime. A parliament was held at Cambridge, which enacted some useful laws. For the rest, the country was quiet : exhausted by what it had gone through, not roused to present action by foreign war, and learning slowly but surely to murmur at the oppressive despotism of the present administration.

CHAPTER VIII.

WYKEHAM AND CHURCH DOCTRINE.

A.D. 1371—1396.

WE are now to contemplate Wykeham in his attitude towards that doctrinal movement which began to stir the Church of England in his time, and after smouldering for more than a hundred years, at last blazed out in the Reformation.

What we call the Reformation of Henry VIII had two grounds. It was distinctly national as well as doctrinal. Indeed, the first ground of quarrel in that reign was national, rather than doctrinal; and the doctrinal reformation would never have taken place at all, in spite of the strong Lollard feeling throughout England, had it not been that the national Church had shaken itself free, first and separately, of the Roman obedience.

Now Wykeham, as we have seen, was a determined nationalist in his churchmanship. But he appears, as far as we can see, to have been satisfied with the doctrines of the Roman Church. He did not go on like Wiclif, from nationalism to doctrinal reform. He stopped short, as did bishop Gardiner in later years, as did Reginald Pole, as did Henry VIII himself.

Wykeham a nationalist churchman, but firm as to Roman doctrine.

Wiclif and he, it has already been remarked, began together. They were just of an age, probably born in the same year; and they both were part of the royal establishment. Wiclif was a royal chaplain when Langham was

archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, and Wykeham Keeper of the Privy Seal. He had hitherto been known only as a keen dialectician, and a strong opponent of the mendicant friars, who had a strong following in Oxford. But now he became known as a nationalist, and further is said to have entertained strange opinions as to the temporal authority of clerics, and the obligation to pay tithes to unworthy pastors. It was in 1360 (as has been said) that the pope was so ill-advised as to demand from king Edward all the arrears of the tribute which king John had undertaken to pay when he did homage to the Papal see. The national spirit was roused ; king, lords, and commons alike rejected the claim, and Wiclif wrote a treatise on the nationalist side, defending the right of parliament to refuse the papal claim.

Anti-clerical
movement
championed
by Wiclif,

In 1371, he threw himself into, or perhaps was one of the first champions of, the anti-clerical movement, by which Wykeham was compelled to give up his chancellorship. He it is that reports, in a treatise written entirely on the subject, the socialistic speech of "a certain lord," who perhaps, as we have already ventured to conjecture, may have been the young earl of Pembroke.¹ That speech, with its apologue of the owl stripped of her borrowed plumes by the rest of the birds, follows in every respect the teaching for which Wiclif was mainly responsible.

who writes with
contemptuous
allusion to
Wykeham's
learning.

It seems to have been about this time that Wiclif wrote the treatise in which he alludes contemptuously to Wykeham's rise by the king's favour. The treatise is entitled, "Why poor priests have no benefices ;" and he is vindicating the claims of theological knowledge as the only just reason for ecclesiastical preferment. "Yet lords will not present a clerk able of knowing of God's law ; but a kitchen clerk, or a penny clerk, or wise in building castles, or worldly doing, though he cannot well read his psalter."

¹ See p. 128.

That this was undoubtedly aimed at the then Chancellor, the pointed allusion to skill in castle-building shows. How far was it just? Was Wykeham really deficient in theological knowledge? We have no proof of the assertion; and it is very easy to understand how such an idea would rapidly circulate as to Wykeham's unprecedented rise. Here was a man who had risen in none of the accredited ways; who had not been a monk, who had not been a friar, who had never taken a degree at either of the universities: could it be fitting to make him a bishop when his only claim to it lay in his excellence as a judge and as an architect, and in his friendship with the king? Yet pope Urban V, as we have seen—not a man given to flattery—spoke of him as being commended to him by many trustworthy witnesses for his knowledge of literature, as well as for his prudence and uprightness.¹

How far is the report that Wykeham was illiterate probable?

The language of his college statutes—quite certainly his own production—will bear favourable comparison with any of the Latin writing of the period. But there was a strong impression on people's minds that he had come by his knowledge in no regular way. A chronicler of the next generation² gives us the popular feeling about it when he records his death, and says that Wykeham, because he had little knowledge of literature himself, founded his college to compensate for this by raising up scholars. Two centuries later this was improved into a story³ that, on the king's informing him that some one had objected to his appointment on the score of his ignorance, he replied, "Sire, I am unworthy; but wherein I am wanting myself, that will I

¹ See p. 63.

² 1404. "Hoc anno, sexto Kalendas Octobris, obiit vir insignis Dominus Willelmus de Wikam, Episcopus Wyntoniensis, qui quod minus habuit litteraturæ laudabili compensavit [liberalitate?], dum collegium clericorum fundavit Wyntonie, et aliud sublimiorum facultatum construxit Oxoniæ."—*Chronicles of St. Alban's* (probably by William Wintershill, almoner; died 1424), Rolls Series 28, vol. ii.

³ Abp. Parker's *Antiquities* (Life of Sudbury).—cit. Walcott, p. 114.

supply by a brood of more scholars than all the prelates of England ever showed."

No reliance can be placed on this story, nor does it prove anything as to the fact of his want of knowledge; for it is obviously just such an answer as any humble-minded man, such as Wykeham undoubtedly was, would have made about his own acquirements. And without the least derogation from the extent of those acquirements, we may own that he cannot have been Wiclif's equal in dialectic skill or theological learning.

Wykeham the head of the nationalist party.

At this time, be it remembered, Wykeham was undoubtedly the head of the nationalist party in the English Church. It shows the candour, therefore, of Wiclif's mind, that he thus separated himself from his chief. Under that chief worked William Courtenay,¹ then bishop of Hereford, Wykeham's firm ally and Wiclif's antagonist later as archbishop of Canterbury. The pope wished to divide the forces against him, and by way of an advance towards duke John and his lay ministers, "provided" young Thomas Fitz-Alan, the brother of the earl of Arundel, for the vacant bishopric of Ely in 1373.² This was a direct violation of the statute of Provisors; nevertheless the bait took, Fitz-Alan (or Arundel, as he was more usually called) was consecrated bishop of Ely, and the ministry went as far as, during the next year, 1375, to propose a total repeal of the Provisors' statute by royal prerogative. But before this was possible, a new coalition had taken place—the duke had met and conciliated John Wiclif.

Wiclif at Bruges, 1374;

Wiclif was chosen as a nationalist champion to debate with the pope's ambassadors at Bruges. On July 26th, 1374,³ a commission was given to him to join bishop

¹ Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury*, iv, p. 324.

² *Id.* p. 406.

³ Rym. vii, p. 41.

Gilbert of Bangor at Bruges, to meet the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Carpentras, with a view to settling some concordat between the king of England and the pope. The result of this negotiation was not much. The pope promised that he would not "reserve" benefices as before ; ~~the king that he would not usurp~~ preferment on the plea of wardship, or of patronage to vacant churches, by the use of the writ "*Quare impedit*," as he had been used to do. But these promises were soon broken on both sides : no effectual barrier was raised against papal encroachments. But meanwhile an incidental effect of this negotiation at Bruges was of more lasting interest. It was here that Wiclif fell in with the duke of Lancaster, who was negotiating the peace with France, and who seized upon him as a convenient tool. It need scarcely be said that the two men were very different. Wiclif was an earnest preacher against vice, the duke was a profligate man. Moreover, their aims differed ; Wiclif wished to reform the Church, Lancaster to exalt his own political party. However, the first means towards these different ends was the same with both : the depression of the clergy, especially of the clergy in office.

seized upon by
duke John.

The "good parliament," which met in April 1376, besides impeaching the notorious offenders, presented, as has been mentioned, a great number of petitions to the king. Many of these complained of papal encroachment, to the iniquity and danger of which the nation was now thoroughly roused. They begged that the statutes on Provisions should be re-enacted, and that no papal collector be allowed in England, nor any Englishman become such a collector.

Parliament
petitions
against papal
encroachments.

In the struggle with Wykeham in which duke John got the better for the time, Wiclif's sympathies were wholly on the duke's side. In February, 1377, duke John

Wiclif cited to
St. Paul's,
Feb. 1377.

Riot in London
delivers Wiclif.

summoned him by special messenger from Oxford where he was lecturing, to help him in intimidating the convocation. Wiclif came, but only to find bishop Courtenay successfully demanding the recall of Wykeham. Having been successful in this, Courtenay proceeded to attack duke John through the new ally whom he had summoned to his aid. He stirred up archbishop Sudbury to summon Wiclif to St. Paul's, on the 19th of February, to answer for his heresies on the relations of Church and State. On that day Wiclif came to trial, attended by the duke and lord Percy. Percy¹ shouldered his way through the crowd in the church with violence. Courtenay, as bishop of London, remonstrated with him for irreverence. Proceedings were opened in the Lady Chapel, and Percy insisted that Wiclif should sit during the trial. Courtenay replied that he must stand at the time of answer. The duke took Percy's part, and told Courtenay that he was insolent, and haughtily trusting to his high birth. Courtenay replied that he trusted only in God. The duke, transported with rage, wished that he could drag him by the hair from the Church. The words were said in a low voice, but were overheard and resented by the Londoners as a threat to their bishop. They broke up the meeting tumultuously, and next day they held a council as to resisting the duke. There they were told by lord Fitz-Walter of a prisoner illegally detained in lord Percy's house. A tumultuous crowd immediately rushed to the house, and released the prisoner; but not finding Percy, they concluded that he was with the duke at his palace of Savoy. Meanwhile, the duke and Percy had really gone to dine with a rich merchant. Oysters were being served, when a Lancastrian retainer rushed in and warned the duke to fly for his life. He sprung up, bruising his shins against the bench in his haste, and

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 115.

made his way to the river with lord Percy, where they hailed a boat and rowed to Kennington, to the palace inhabited by the princess of Wales and her son. Meanwhile, the riot was quelled by the generous eloquence of bishop Courtenay ; and when the princess strove to make peace between the duke and the citizens, they replied by demanding for both Wykeham and De la Mare a trial by their peers.

Thus Wiclif escaped for the time ; but his enemies were resolved to prosecute the matter further. They had sent to the pope, at the end of the year 1376, nineteen propositions collected out of Wiclif's writings, desiring his judgment upon them. These propositions¹ concerned, (1) the origin of civil dominion, which he denied that the Church ought to have ; (2) the nature and obligation of excommunication, which he said was only lawfully available as a weapon against spiritual offences ; and (3) the duty which he asserted to be incumbent on all, of despoiling a delinquent Church of her earthly goods.

The pope issued in May, 1377, bulls to the university of Oxford² and to the archbishop of Canterbury, bidding them take proceedings against Wiclif. But the bishops were half-hearted in their measures, perhaps rendered so by archbishop Sudbury, who notoriously leant himself to Wiclif's views ; and the university of Oxford, where Wiclif was popular, would not stir until they knew that only an inquiry was intended.³ At last the bishops (December 18th, 1377) directed the university to cite Wiclif to appear again at St. Paul's on the next February 19th. A message from the princess of Wales made them put off their meeting ; and the adjourned meeting at Lambeth was once more

The pope directs proceedings against Wiclif,

who is summoned again to St. Paul's, Feb. 1378, but delivered by the mob.

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 182.

² *Chron. Angl.* pp. 174—180. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 242. Lowth confuses these bulls with those by which the citation to St. Paul's, February 19th, was ordered ; p. 140 n.

³ Hook, iv, p. 276.

interrupted by the London mob, who thus brought off Wiclif scot-free for the second time.¹

Wiclif gives an opinion as to the payment of tribute to the pope.

The St. Albans' chronicler complains loudly of the bishops for remissness in prosecuting this business, and compares them to reeds shaken by the wind.² We know that the archbishop did not think Wiclif much to blame, and the prosecution was at least not encouraged by the king. For the very moment when the Church was thus prosecuting him was chosen by king Richard for consulting Wiclif as to England's obligation to pay the pope what he demanded. This question Wiclif answered at length, insisting on the right of the king and parliament to withhold what payment they pleased. The king imposed silence upon him for the time ; and for the time he was quiet. We can well understand therefore that the bishops thought the time ill chosen to prosecute Wiclif for heresy. But before the end of 1378, Wiclif—who thus had again taken the nationalist part—was forced once more into political prominence on the side of duke John. The duke's followers invaded Westminster Abbey in search of two men who had incurred his wrath, and murdered one on the spot.³ The bishop of London excommunicated those who had committed the outrage. The duke jeered at the sentence, calling the bishop contumacious, and the Londoners ribalds.⁴ But Wiclif defended the deed in one of his treatises, though without mentioning names.

Beginning of schism in the papacy, 1378.

This year also the famous schism in the papacy began, which at one time threatened to perpetuate two popes in the Western Church—a Cis-Alpine and a Trans-Alpine pope. Gregory XI died at Rome in March, 1378, and in April Urban VI, an Italian, was chosen by the cardinals, intimidated (it was afterwards said) by the Roman popu-

¹ *Chron. Angl.* p. 183.

² *Id.* p. 183.

³ *Id.* p. 208.

⁴ *Id.* p. 210.

lace, who clamoured loudly for a Roman pope. But he alienated his friends by harsh and repulsive manners and measures, and in September the whole body of cardinals proceeded to a second election at Condi, and chose Robert, cardinal of Geneva, a man who had been a leader of Free Companies in Bretagne. There were but four Italian cardinals who gave no vote, but still adhered to pope Urban. His rival, taking the name of Clement VII, fled to France, and took up his abode at Avignon. Europe was divided between the claimants, but the greater number of countries held with Urban. A parliament held at Gloucester in October decided that Urban was the pope to whom England should pay allegiance. This was almost inevitable, as France had assumed the patronage of the Avignon pope; and equally so was it that Scotland should oppose England, and side with Clement and France.

It is very noteworthy that just at this time Wykeham ceases to commend the pope's collectors to the clergy of his diocese. Before, his register has recorded many such demands; papal taxation has oppressed clergy and people almost as heavily as national taxation. Thus letters are written to enforce the subsidy of 66,000 florins, which is due to the pope in 1375.¹ Nine letters again are written in different years to give authority to the collectors of procurations for cardinals visiting England or other papal nuncios.² The last of them is dated November 9th, 1378, a month after the parliament had given the allegiance of England to Urban VI. There is no other letter enforcing papal taxation on his diocese till Wykeham's death.³ The papal collector, that unpopular personage, was as much in

Wykeham
ceases to
encourage
papal taxation.

¹ Reg. iii, 132—135.

² Reg. iii, 57, 75, 79, 118, 119, 130, 150, 153, 173.

³ The only apparent exception to this is a letter (March 2nd, 1399) authorizing commissioners to ask a charitable aid for the emperor of Constantinople, which the pope was urging on Christendom. But this was "caritativa," *i.e.*, voluntary. Reg. iii, 310.

England as ever ; only the bishop of Winchester declined to write, as before, letters endorsing the claims made by him. Surely this can be no fortuitous coincidence. It would seem to mean that Wykeham had determined to be national even in this, and to encourage by his authority none but national claims ; and thought the accession of a new papal dynasty, as it were, an opportune one for putting his resolution into practice.

Reverence for
the pope on
the increase.

The schism in the papacy had another effect. It distinctly increased the reverence felt in England for the pope. He was no longer a Frenchman residing in France, but an enemy of the French people, and employed in hurling excommunications at the French pope. Wiclif's tone of rancour towards the papal court was sensibly modified by this : he no longer called the pope Antichrist, as before, nor preached that all aid should be withheld. He even sent a copy of his inculpatéd opinions to Rome, and requested the pope's judgment upon them. And the establishment of a pope at Rome may have had a similar effect, though unconscious, upon Wykeham himself. He had all along been a nationalist, but a Romanist in doctrine. His nationalism must always have run counter to his respect for the head of the Church. Now, at least, the pope was not a Frenchman, and did not live in France ; nor had he as yet taken any steps to assert his supremacy over England.

Wiclif's pro-
positions on
the Eucharist,

Matters, therefore, as regards the Church were unusually quiet for the next few months. But in the spring of 1381, Wiclif published twelve propositions upon the nature of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. These propositions attack the doctrine of Transubstantiation, on philosophical as well as on theological grounds. To say that by the consecration the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ was substituted for the substance of bread and wine, though the

accidents of bread and wine remained as before, was according to him unphilosophical; accidents could not remain without substance. It was an attack upon the philosophy of Realism, which asserted that each substance had a true existence independently of its accidents; and the University of Oxford was thoroughly Realist. They therefore called upon him to defend these opinions; and when he had done so, they published a decree condemning them, and forbidding everyone to advocate them.

condemned to
Oxford
University.

Wiclif appealed to the king and court, hoping once more to obtain the protection of duke John. But Wiclif's usefulness was over; the quarrel between the duke and the clergy was at an end, and the duke had no mind to prosecute reform on doctrinal as well as social matters. He came to Oxford, and urged on Wiclif submission to the University authorities. Instead, Wiclif boldly and carefully re-asserted his former views;¹ and obtained more than a patient hearing even at Oxford, where he had always been popular.

But while this was going on in the Church, the villeins' rising, described in a former chapter, took place in the State. The villeins of south-east England rose *en masse* in June, and murdered the king's ministers, including archbishop Sudbury. The young king's adroitness put as sudden an end to the rising, as it had been sudden in its beginning; but the danger to both Church and State had been very real for the time. And it had as remarkable an effect in the ecclesiastical as in the social sphere. Wiclif was shocked and subdued by the sudden excess with which his own theoretical views were put into practice, and especially by the murder of his friend, the archbishop. Henceforth he let social questions alone, and devoted his energies to purely theological teaching. And the clergy and bishops, with

Revolt of the
villeins; its
effect on
Wiclif.

and on his
teaching.

¹ *Fasc. Zizan.* pp. 115—132.

their new archbishop Courtenay at their head, were not slow to connect the social with the theological revolt. Courtenay had been Wykeham's tried friend throughout. His first essays in nationalistic churchmanship had been made under the shield of Wykeham; and he had stood Wykeham's friend in the day of his trouble. Well born and orthodox, Courtenay was a much sterner antagonist than poor Sudbury; and Wiclif's views were as much out of favour under his reign, as they had been protected in the time of Sudbury. There was no doubt what should be the ground of attack. Wiclif's views on the Eucharist were felt to be the key of his whole position. He taught at Oxford; and Oxford became the battle-ground of the new views. Oxford had been known for its exclusive Realism; but the thinking minds were shaken upon the subject by his lectures. The extreme party against him was led by the mendicant friars, with Peter Stokes, a Carmelite, at their head. On the other side were Nicholas Herford and John Aston, and Dr. Peter Ridge, a late convert to his views, who actually had signed the decree in which the university condemned them the year before. Meanwhile Wiclif's army of poor priests went everywhere through the country, preaching everywhere, and with great acceptableness, the doctrines of the Lollards, as they began to be called.

Controversy at
Oxford on the
Eucharist.

In May, 1382, parliament met, and convocation. In parliament, Courtenay brought a bill into the house of lords to remedy the slowness of proceeding against heretics. It enacted that with a bishop's certificate the Chancellor might compel the accused to satisfy the bishop. This the lords passed: but the archbishop shrank from exposing it to be rejected by the house of commons, where there were many Lollards, and determined to try whether the authority of the lords would not suffice. The commons were indignant, and annulled the statute in the next sessions.

Courtenay
introduces a
bill against
heretics,

In convocation Courtenay resolved to put down with a high hand these dangerous views on the Eucharist. But the first day of their session (May 19th) an earthquake shook London. The bishops assembled at Blackfriars were awed; both sides claimed it as a sign from heaven in their favour.¹ The bishops examined the opinions of Wiclif, condemned ten of his statements as heretical, and fourteen more as erroneous, and prohibited such teaching in the dioceses of England under pain of excommunication. These twenty-four proscribed opinions were interdicted under the archbishop's hand on May 30th. Wykeham, who had been one of the ten bishops present,² publishes the interdict at once in the diocese of Winchester.³

and summon:
Synod of
bishops at
Blackfriars,
May, 1382;

who condemn
Wiclif's
opinions.

Meanwhile, there had been great excitement at Oxford, where the election of Dr. Ridge to be Chancellor gave a temporary triumph to the Wicliffites. On Ascension day (May 16th), Herford preached before the university, and openly sided with Wiclif. The Chancellor appointed Philip Repington to preach on Corpus Christi day (June 6th); and Repington was an adherent of Wiclif's, except in the matter of the Eucharist, on which he had not made up his mind. Father Stokes informed the archbishop that this sermon was to be preached; on which the archbishop sent (May 30th) his mandate to the Chancellor,⁴ desiring him to assist Stokes in procuring the publication of the decree of the Blackfriars Synod against Wiclif's doctrine. But the Chancellor, maintaining that the University of Oxford had always been free from direct interposition from the heads of the Church, declined to obey. On Corpus Christi day, he went to St. Mary's, accompanied by a hundred armed men, and Repington's sermon was preached. Stokes wrote to the archbishop that he had done all that

The Chancellor
of Oxford
a Wicliffite,

authorizes a
Wicliffite
sermon,

¹ *Fasc. Zizan.* pp. 272, 283.

² *Id.* p. 286.

³ *Reg.* iii, 196.

⁴ *Fasc. Zizan.* p. 298.

he could do to prevent it, and that now he feared for his life.¹

is summoned
to Blackfriars,
and submits,
June, 1382 ;

The archbishop answered by summoning² both Stokes and Ridge to Lambeth, for June 12th, the day to which the Blackfriars meeting stood adjourned. That day the Chancellor and proctors were formally tried.³ Seven pieces of evidence were given against them, and they were found guilty of contempt of the archbishop's mandate. Ridge submitted, and asked Courtenay's pardon on his knees.

and Wykeham
pleads for him.

The bishop of Winchester, we are told, pleaded for him, and the archbishop forgave him.⁴ But he dismissed him with a mandate⁵ for the future administration of the university. He was to suspend Wiclif, Herford, Aston, Repington and Bedeman from scholastic acts till they should have established their innocence ; to publish the condemnation of the proscribed opinions in St. Mary's, and to search out the favourers of heresy and compel them to abjure.

This is the only occasion on which Wykeham's name comes prominently forward in the affair. He interceded for the Chancellor of Oxford, when he was found guilty of Lollard views. This shows first, the fact of Wykeham's influence in the Synod. He was probably the oldest of the bishops, certainly the highest in standing among them. And next, it shows of what character was his influence. He was above suspicion as to doctrine, but his position as to Church nationalism must have eminently fitted him to become a moderator of the Synod's zeal against the Lollards. He was in favour of mildness and gentleness, thinking that these should first be tried, and that persecution should not be set on foot till they had failed.

The University
rebuked,

The next day Ridge was summoned before the privy

¹ *Fasc. Zizan.* p. 300.

² *Id.* p. 302.

³ *Id.* p. 304.

⁴ *Id.* p. 308.

⁵ *Id.* p. 309.

council, and the Chancellor Scrope confirmed the archbishop's mandate. The same day (June 13th) a royal brief¹ directed the university authorities to comply with that mandate; and the next day another² charged them not to molest Henry Crumpe, or Peter Stokes, or Stephen Patrington, for anything they had done to oppose Wiclif's doctrine.

Ridge came down from London to Oxford, and proceeded to suspend Aston, Herford, and Repington. The two latter appealed to duke John of Lancaster,³ whom they knew to be a great friend of the lord Chancellor. But duke John had never cared for the controversy for its own sake; he had used Wiclif as a convenient tool to further his own political ends, but he did not feel the least theological interest in his party. He soon gave them to understand that they could not hope for his aid. They therefore drew up a memorandum of their views, and presented it to the archbishop on June 20th. It seems to have stated their case with some plausibility, for the Synod was perplexed, and put off their answer for another week. But that day Aston was condemned; and Herford and Repington on July 1st.⁴ They both recanted. Repington became a persecutor of the Lollards and bishop of Lincoln, and a cardinal: Herford died a Carthusian monk.

and the
Lollards
condemned.

The most remarkable thing about this persecution, for such it may be called, was the complete immunity the leader of the heretics enjoyed. Wiclif was quietly working on his cure at Lutterworth, and nothing was done to harm him. We shall not be so much at a loss to know how to account for this, if we remember the personal interest which the king had taken in Wiclif. He had consulted him on tribute to the pope, and the bishops had shrunk

Wiclif probably
shielded by
royal favour.

¹ *Fasc. Zisan.* p. 312.

² *Id.* p. 314.

³ *Id.* p. 318.

⁴ *Id.* p. 290.

from condemning him. He had several Lollard knights among his chamberlains at court. In 1382 he married Anne of Bohemia, and she was said to have lent a willing ear to the heretic; so that it was through her retinue that the flame of novel opinions spread into Bohemia, and blazed out in John Hus. It may well have been the royal influence which kept Wiclif unharmed, in spite of his fearlessness in attacking the Church authorities, by whom his opinion had been condemned. And there was at least one among the bishops who would have been rejoiced that it was so. Wykeham would have disliked persecution, and rejoiced at his old friend's immunity. While using his quiet time to expound (often to explain away) the startling paradoxes by which he had upset the conservative instincts of churchmen, and also to complete his great work, the English translation of the Latin Bible, Wiclif had a stroke of paralysis. He lived to recover some degree of literary usefulness; but a second stroke carried him off on the last day of 1384.

Crumpe con-
demned by
Synod of
Meath.

Shortly after, one of his old opponents at Oxford was in the like trouble on his own account in Ireland. Henry Crumpe had originally been a Cistercian monk from the Irish monastery of Bawynghlas. He had conceived a bitter hostility against the mendicant Orders, and when he came to reside in Oxford had engaged in fierce strife with them.¹ But he had signed the decree suspending Wiclif from academic acts in 1381,² and supported Stokes in his strife with the Lollard leaders. He was suspended himself by the Lollard Chancellor, Dr. Ridge; and petitioning the king in counsel, was restored at the point of the sword by the royal brief of June, 1382.³ After the excitement of the Lollards had calmed down, his strife with the mendicants broke out again. He quitted Oxford for Ireland, and there

¹ *Fasc. Zizan.* Introd. p. lxvii.

² *Id.* p. 113.

³ *Id.* pp. 311—314.

was accused before the bishop of Meath of holding opinions similar to Wiclif's own. He was found guilty by him (March 18th, 1385) of exalting the authority of the parish priest above that of the pope, and of holding that the sacrament of the altar was but a mirror for beholding the Body of Christ in heaven.¹ We shall hear more of him soon.

Meantime, Lollardy was a great and increasing influence in England. The friars and the Lollards divided Oxford into two camps; and the increasing bitterness against the friars, which is shown by the satirical poems of the time, clearly showed the predominance of the Lollards. Moreover, there was a strong and influential body of Lollards at court.² The author of the *Chronicon Angliæ* gives a list of them, when he is relating how they supported (1387) one Pateshull, an Augustinian friar, in inveighing against the crimes of his own order. Four of them were king's chamberlains, and were chosen by the king to be of his privy council when, in May, 1389, he superseded the ministry of the appellants. Sir Richard Sturry was the oldest of them—the same who had been chamberlain to prince Edward, the king's father. Then came three belonging to the great northern families—Sir William Neville, Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir Thomas Latimer. Sir John Clanvow was also a trusted chamberlain of the king's. And John, lord Montagu, brother to the earl of Salisbury, and father to the earl of Salisbury who was the chief³ of the Lollards of the next generation, is distinguished as having been the maddest of them all.⁴

Increasing
influence of
Lollards at
court.

This increase of power, of course, stirred them up powerful enemies. The parliament of 1388 presented a

Petition against
Lollards, 1388.

¹ *Fasc. Zisan.* p. 350.

² Yet the king addresses to Wykeham a "Breve contra Lollardas ad capiendos eos."—Reg. iv, 7.

³ Collins' *Peerage*, ii, p. 43 n.

⁴ *Chron. Angl.* p. 331.

petition to the king against them ; and the king, in reply, enjoined on the bishops to exercise greater care in their several dioceses. Perhaps in consequence of this, in the next year, we find the archbishop of Canterbury trying, condemning, and excommunicating eight persons charged with holding Lollard opinions. But persecution did but stimulate the progress of the new doctrines.

Crumpe cited
to Synod of
Stamford,
1392 :

In 1392, we find the mendicant friars making an attack on Henry Crumpe, then resident at Oxford. It is clear that this must indicate, first, that the friars were very unpopular ; and, secondly, that their chief enemies were Lollards. Oxford was in the diocese of Lincoln, and John of Buckingham, bishop of Lincoln, summoned a council at Stamford to try Crumpe, and called upon Wykeham to act as one of the judges. Crumpe was arraigned of having publicly taught ten errors,¹ of which the chief was that he exalted the authority of the parish priest above every spiritual power besides. He had taught that every one, even kings and prelates, were absolutely bound to confess to their parish priest ; and without his licence, it was unlawful to confess to any one else, however high his authority, even the pope himself. This exaggeration of parochial authority, of course, struck at the root of the influence of the friars, and hence the accusation. Crumpe boldly declared that he had never held such doctrine ; nevertheless, the Synod found him guilty upon three counts only, and dismissed the rest of the charges. He was compelled to abjure these doctrines,² and this conclusion was arrived at without the Synod's knowing of the former condemnation of the same man by the bishop of Meath in 1385. But Crumpe could not even then keep himself quiet ; the authority of the king was invoked, who enjoined the University of Oxford to suspend him again from all scholastic acts³ (March 20th, 1393).

Wykeham one
of the judges.

¹ *Fasc. Zizan.* p. 344.

² *Id.* p. 343.

³ *Id.* p. 358.

In 1394, the Lollards in the house of commons were so many, that they actually ventured to present a petition for Church reform. They drew up ten conclusions, wherein the views of Wiclif are pressed to the entire subversion of Church order; and they ended by saying, "We present to you these conclusions . . . and we pray you to lend your aid to the reform of the Church." The king at the time was absent in Ireland, but the bishops besought his protection for the Church; and on his return the Lollards received a sharp reprimand, and their teachers were expelled from the University of Oxford. The archbishop, Courtenay, died in 1396, and with him ended the list of archbishops who were content with bloodless persecution. With Arundel's accession begins a new era—that of archbishops who tried to enforce their own doctrinal views, first on one side and then on the other, by the fire and the stake. That this melancholy period, which lasted for more than two hundred years, had not begun in Courtenay's time, is perhaps owing to the gentleness and moderation of the counsels of his friend, bishop Wykeham of Winchester.

Petition of
Lollards for
Church reform
1394-

Meantime it would be a question of the deepest interest to us, if we had means of deciding it, how far Wykeham's private opinions went in the direction of Lollardy? Have we any reason for supposing that he adopted either side in the matter from deliberate conviction?

Wykeham's
views on
Lollardy.

We have seen his attitude towards the other quarrel with the popes; we have had reason to think him the most determined nationalist in England. At the same time we have seen that the quarrel with Wiclif was not of his making, but was forced upon him by Wiclif's scurrilous pen. And we have seen his characteristic gentleness and moderation, in the fact of his having interceded for the Lollard leader at Oxford.

On the other hand, all his hierarchical leanings would

naturally be against Wiclif. He was but defending the Church of which he was a bishop, in deciding against him; and assuredly Wiclif lost no opportunity of making all the hierarchy his enemies.

His devotional thoughts on the Eucharist not distinctively Romanist.

Wykeham was not a deeply read theologian, and he may well have shrunk from committing himself to teaching which seemed to be adverse to the decrees of his Church. But it is a striking fact that the only indication we have of his opinions on the controverted points, should be in the direction of Wiclif's tenets, rather than against them. We are told by Aylward¹ that after he was prevented by the weakness of old age from attending the office of the mass, he still used to receive the holy Elements in private on every Sunday and on double feasts, with remarkable devotion and tears of penitence, "recalling perhaps that which is often chanted in Church, 'O holy banquet! in thee Christ is taken'; the memory of His sufferings is repeated, the mind filled with grace, and an earnest given us of future glory. For of Christ the heavenly Bread, Who hath placed Himself in the shape of bread as a wonderful sacrament, and not of any material bread, is that passage truly to be understood, that 'he that eateth **that Bread** shall live for ever.'"

The first clause of this quotation is a hymn² from the services of Corpus Christi **day**, by St. Thomas Aquinas.³ But it is remarkable **that** Wykeham, in his habitual devotional **thoughts** on the Eucharist, should have dwelt **upon** this aspect of it only. He doubtless looked on the Eucharist as a "sacrifice" as well as a "banquet"; but he prefers to call it a "banquet," and to describe it as a

¹ Aylward, 8.

² *Breviarium ad usum Sarum*, edited by Proctor and Wordsworth, ff. mxxxiv, mxxxv. It is the Anthem to the Magnificat at Second Vespers.

³ Thomas Aquinas (*Opera*, Venice, 1788), xix, p. 474. Aquinas had composed the office by command of pope Urban IV, when the feast was instituted.

“memorial.” He doubtless thought that Christ was “given” at that holy Feast ; still, for his devotional use, he speaks of Him only as “taken.”

The language of the later clause is probably his own ; at least it is not to be found in any of the recognized formularies of the time.¹ But taking these words as his own, their purport is surely remarkable. For they seem to imply a belief that while the change in the consecration of the Elements is real, it is not material ; and that wicked recipients of the Sacrament are not partakers of Christ. This, considering the controversies that were even at that moment raging, is remarkable language to be handed down as the devotional language of a bishop of our Church at that time. Perhaps, as the shadows of life lengthened, as he felt the hollowness of controversy, he dwelt more on the only thing certain about the holy but mysterious Feast ; it seemed to him that a memorial banquet, in which Christ, really but not materially, allowed Himself to be taken, was medicine enough for the sins of the whole world.

At any rate Wykeham, though declining to use even the language of controversy,² was thoroughly sincere in his devotion. Aylward tells us that he used to shed abundant tears at mass, especially when the intercession for quick and dead was being read, calling himself unworthy to officiate at so great a Sacrament, with the humility of him who said, “Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof.” It was the humility of a deeply-touched conscience ; a humility which compared himself with God’s saints of old, and with those of the last generation who had but lately fallen asleep, of whom he seems to have been always thinking—his father and mother, and those who

His great
humility.

¹ Nor, as far as I have been able to find, in any of the controversial works upon the subject. It should be observed that Aylward, as Wykeham’s intimate friend and steward, had the best opportunity of knowing his patron’s mind.

² Aylward, 8.

had helped him to reach his present position : a position of which the proudest title, in his conception, was that he might call himself the "humble minister to the servants of God."

CHAPTER IX.

WYKEHAM AND HIS COLLEGES.

A.D. 1377—1396.

WYKEHAM had no sooner felt himself free from the stress of malicious accusation, than, as if he had been chafing impatiently at the enforced delay, he set about his educational schemes in earnest without loss of time.

We have seen that when his fortune was at its lowest, when he dismissed his retinue and retainers, he sent to Oxford and dispersed the "poor scholars" whom he was maintaining; that is, he told the warden and seventy fellows or scholars, whom he was keeping in Black Hall, Hart Hall, Sheld Hall, Maiden Hall, and Hammer Hall, that he could no longer maintain them. "And so they all departed in great sorrow and discomfort, weeping and with simple cheer."¹ At the same time probably doubts were raised as to the legality of the purchases of land by Buckingham and Rouceby, for they had done it without the king's license, or the consent of his council.

His dispersed scholars no doubt reassembled when his fortunes mended; and with the year 1378 the purchase of land went on steadily as before, the king formally pardoning Buckingham and Rouceby for their misdemeanour in buying land for the purpose of a college, without previously having asked the royal license. Wykeham also requested in the same year a bull from the pope to enable him to

Purchases of
land for New
College, 1373.

¹ *Chron. Angl.* App. (B) to Introd. p. lxxx.

found a college at Winchester; but of this, as the second undertaking of the two, we will speak more hereafter. He devoted his energies first to "his greater candlestick of knowledge," as Aylward calls his college at Oxford.

He employed the same agents as before, Buckingham and Rouceby, in the purchase of more land. These, besides the four acres which they had bought in 1369 and 1370, now bought further (1) eight plots, containing two acres, and a certain "venella," a common way, called "the Slype," running parallel to the city wall and within it, of the mayor and burghers of the town of Oxford (10th February, 1378); (2) certain plots of Littlemore nunnery (25th February, 1378); and (3) a tenement of Thomas Gloucester (March 1st).¹

King's
escheator tries
Wykeham's
right to enclose;

Taught by his previous troubles to be very circumspect in getting the law on his side in everything that he did, Wykeham next moved the king to issue a brief to his escheator for the county of Oxford,² John Salvein, directing him to enquire whether it would damage the king or the town of Oxford if the bishop of Winchester were to enclose these lands, and others hereafter to be procured, for a peculiar use. The escheator came to Oxford, and summoned a jury of townsmen to make the inquiry, in the presence of John Gibbs, the mayor, and John Hicks and Richard Addington, bailiffs of Oxford.

On Monday, June 20th, 1379, the inquiry was held. The jury after consultation pronounced:—

the jury decides
in his favour.

(1) That it would not damage or hurt either the king or the town if the bishop of Winchester enclosed the plots obtained from Oseney abbey, Queen's college, Godstow nunnery, and the parish of St. Peter's in the East.

(2) Or if the same bishop should also enclose other

¹ Wood's *History and Antiquities of Colleges and Halls in Oxford*, iv, p. 177, edited by Gutch.

² *Id.* p. 179.

lands which he was about to acquire, among which were several plots of ground belonging to the town, and a common land, in which they also had interest. But this they only permitted, on condition that the warden and scholars of his college bound themselves and their successors to keep in repair so much of the north and east walls of the said town as would include the college (namely, from a spot opposite Sheld Hall to the Windsor postern near the east gate of the town); and that also they made a gate or postern in each end of the said wall at the extremity of the college limits, that the mayor and bailiff of Oxford might, once in every three years, enter and pass through them, to see whether the said wall were kept well in repair, and that the burghers of the town might have free passage through the posterns, for defence of the same.

(3) That the common way and the plots aforesaid were not built on or enclosed for private use, but were full of filth, dirt, and stinking carcases brought from several places in the town, to the annoyance of the town, university, and passers-by; that there was often a concourse there of malefactors, murderers, whores, and thieves, to the great damage of the town and danger of scholars; that scholars and others were there often wounded, killed, and lost; and that all the ground lay waste, desert, and desolate, and not enclosed, or by any occupied.

(4) That to erect buildings on the said ground, and enclose the said land, would be a profit to future times, a relief and recovery to the whole town, and an honour and security to the future scholars of the university.

(5) That the value of the said messuage and plots was ten shillings a year and no more, because no one cared to enter on, or have anything to do with them. Yet, in spite of this statement as to the value of the land, the

burghers of Oxford drove a hard bargain with Wykeham, and made him pay £80 for these eight plots, and their share of the common way.

Royal Charter
for foundation
of New College

This decision having gone in Wykeham's favour, the king ten days after (June 30th) issued his patent for the foundation of the new college.¹

He first recites all these purchases of land, both old and recent. "By our special grace," he proceeds, "and by the advice and assent of our council, we have conceded and given license to John Buckingham and John Rouceby, to give and assign separately to the venerable father in God, William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester," the aforesaid pieces of ground; and to the said bishop to include the common way, and hold it so included within the bound of a wall and turrets, to himself and to his successors the bishops of Winchester for ever; and that the said bishop may of these found a new college, house, or hall, and give it a fixed name, and there ordain and establish a warden and seventy scholars, who are studying in different faculties in the university of that town. The Charter then proceeds to recite the conditions already laid down by the town of Oxford, as to entering and examining the state of the wall.

Wykeham's
Charter for
foundation of
New College.

On the 26th of November, Wykeham issued his Charter of foundation,² calling his college by the English name, "Saint Mary College of Winchester in Oxford," and constituting it a foundation for the support of a warden and seventy scholars. On the same day, Richard Tunworth resigned the wardenship of the temporary foundation, which was given to Nicholas Wykeham, with a salary of £40 a year.

On November 30th, Wykeham gave authority to John

¹ *Cartæ de Fundatione Collegii B. M. W. in Oxon.* 1. ² *Id.* 2.

Campden to deliver, and on December 4th to Nicholas Wykeham and Thomas Cranlegh, future warden of Winchester College, to receive seisin of the site of the new college.¹ A deed confirmatory of the founder's charter was also executed in the same month of December by the prior and convent of St. Swithun, Winchester.²

Every legal necessary had now been completed, and the next thing was to begin the building. On the Monday of the third week in Lent, March 5th, 1380, at eight o'clock in the morning, the title was set up, and the first stone laid of the new college;³ but not by Wykeham himself, he being detained, we may well suppose by imperative business, at Southwark.⁴

Begins to build
March, 1380.

The first thing designed and executed was the great quadrangle. Immediately to the east of the halls where his scholars had found temporary lodging, he built it on about two hundred feet square, making the north side run along the common lane or Slype, parallel to the wall. On the north side of this quadrangle he placed the chief public buildings, the chapel and the hall, for the sake of the security afforded by the wall and ditch beyond; for these were not times that could afford to dispense with such protection against sudden attack. The chapel is to the west, 150 feet in length; the dining hall in the same block with it, on the east, 80 feet in length. Upon this side is built a rectangular figure of nearly square shape, so as to enclose a quadrangle of 168 feet long by 129 broad. All the western side south of the chapel was

Order of
building.

¹ *Carta de Fundatione Collegii, B. M. W. in Oxon*, 3 and 4. ² *Id.* 5.

³ "Erexit igitur titulum et posuit primum lapidem in collegio beatæ Mariæ Winton in Oxon Lincolniz diocesi, vulgariter nuncupato 'Seynt Mary college of Wynchestre in Oxenforde' anno domini M^oCCC^o LXIX^o, hora iiij ante meridiem quintæ diei mensis Martii, qui fuit dies Lunæ tertie septimanæ XL^æ, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi tertio, ætatis verum dicti patris anno LV^o, et consecrationis suæ anno XIJ^o."—Heath, 10. The last word should be "tertio decimo," in order to reconcile the dates.

⁴ Lowth, p. 186 n.

appropriated to the warden's lodgings; all the eastern to the library. The southern block consisted of the students' chambers, thirteen in number, each for six or seven inmates, of whom one, a senior fellow, kept order amongst the others.¹

Society take
possession of
New College.

During the six years while these buildings were in process of erection, Wykeham was taking the preliminary steps towards the sister foundation of Winchester, which he put off beginning to build till this was finished. But at last,² on the 14th of April, which was the Saturday before Palm Sunday, 1386, at nine o'clock in the morning, the warden and fellows took possession of their new home, walking in procession and singing the litany, preceded by a cross-bearer; and thus vacated the halls in which they had been lodged for a time.

Building
continued.

Two or three years after³ he bought three of these vacated halls, which lay immediately to the west of his new chapel. These were:—(1) Sheld (or School) Hall, the property of the Abbess of Studley, (2) Maiden Hall, from University College, and (3) More [Great] Hammer Hall, which belonged to the Abbot of Oseney. All these he pulled down, and on their site erected the college cloister, immediately adjoining the chapel on the west; a square of 180 feet long by 140 broad, and enclosing a garth, which he afterwards obtained license to consecrate and use as a burial

¹ In each chamber were places for three or four beds; the rest were truckle-beds, or beds on wheels (*truchleas*), which ran under the principal beds, and accommodated the junior students. Stat. Oxon, p. 52. Thirteen of these chambers were on the ground floor, eight above them. Those on the ground floor were afterwards named respectively:—The Chamber of Three, Vine, Baptist's Head, Conduit, Crane's Dart, Vale, Cock, Star, Christopher, Serpent's Head, Green Post, Chaplain's, and Rose. Cockerell, p. 27 n.

² "Quorum quidem primus ingressus in locum antedictum ad inibi habitandum fuerat hora tertia ante meridiem xiiij^o die mensis Aprilis, die videlicet Sabbati proxime præcedente dominicani in Kamis Palmarum, anno Domini M^oCCC^oXLXXXVI., cum cruce erecta et litanis solemniter cantata, processionaliter gradiendo."—Heath, 10.

³ In 12 Rd. II (which is from June 21st, 1388, to June 21st, 1389). Wood's *Colleges*, iv, p. 180.

ground for the college, from pope Boniface IX, who succeeded in 1389. He also built the tower, at a distance from the chapel and abutting on the north cloister; and placed three bells therein, dedicated respectively to the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and St. John Baptist and St. Frithswith. These were anointed and consecrated on October 19th, 1400, by Nicholas, bishop of Dunkeld.¹

We now must return to the year 1378, in order to trace from the first Wykeham's preparations for his younger foundation of Winchester.

Very early in the reign of pope Urban VI, the first Italian pope who kept court in Rome, Wykeham wrote to him to request leave to found a college for "seventy poor clerical scholars" in Winchester, with a chapel or oratory, and to appropriate the revenues of Downton in the diocese of Salisbury, which was in the patronage of the bishop of Winchester, to their perpetual support. To this request Urban VI makes answer,² sending it to bishop Wykeham, but enclosing a letter to Thomas de Brinton, bishop of Rochester, dated June 1st, 1378, whereby he makes him his special delegate for the purpose of granting a license to Wykeham to do these things.

Papal license
found Win-
chester Collej

The situation is remarkable. A new-made pope, not yet sure of his ground, is besought by a bishop who has hitherto been known as a nationalist, and lately as beloved by the people, for license to found a college. The pope grants the required leave; he can hardly do otherwise than grant such a request; but he grants it through a well-known papalist bishop, one who has been a Benedictine monk and a royal confessor.

This letter Wykeham kept by him for nearly two whole

¹ Wood's *Colleges*, p. 182.

² *Charter of Foundation and other Instruments of Winchester College*, by T. F. Kirby, p. 7.

years ; till he had finished the legal preliminaries for beginning his college in Oxford, and had actually begun to build it. Two months after the first stone was laid in Oxford (May 6th, 1380), he gave Roger de la Chambre a commission¹ to deliver this papal bull to the bishop of Rochester. Roger made his way to Dover, and thence crossed to Calais, in search of the bishop of Rochester, whom he found at Guines ; and thence, on May 9th, the required license was given.²

Wykeham had now to find a suitable site for the future college.

ite of
Vinchester
college.

The site which he eventually chose was one just outside the city walls, within the episcopally-governed suburb of the Soke. Here, on the south side of the city, near the eastern corner, two streams, both artificial, and made for purposes of usefulness, issued from the enceinte of the wall of the Cathedral precinct, which at this point was also the city wall. The larger of these was the stream which turned the mill of St. Mary's Abbey, or the Nunnaminster, higher up its course. The smaller, issuing about three hundred feet further to the west, was the "Lurte Burne," or Lockburn,³ which acted, in fact, as a sewer to the conventual buildings of the priory. Between these two streams lay a large piece of ground called the Floodstock,—perhaps with reference to certain hatches,⁴ which the prior and convent were bound to keep in repair, at the spot where the Lockburn issued from their walls.

The suburb was already inhabited. In a meadow to the east of the mill-stream lay the Chapel of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, which bishop John of Pontoise had founded in 1301 for a warden, priests, and deacons. Across the stream,

¹ Kirby, p. 5.

² *Ib.* p. 7.

³ The Lockburn is the name by which it is known now. The Lurte Burne is the name in Wykeham's Reg. iii, 323.

⁴ Reg. iii, 323.

and to the west of this, was a convent of White Friars, or Carmelites, founded in 1278. Between this and the city wall, bounded on the west by the Kingsgate street houses, and on the east by the mill-stream, lay the "greeneries and garden walks" (*viridaria et deambulatoria*) belonging to the priory, to provide a quiet approach to which prior Herriard had recently (probably during Wykeham's school-days) spanned the king's high road outside the close wall with a hanging bridgeway. Here also were at least two buildings belonging to the same convent. Immediately to the east of the Lockburn, so as to use it for a sewer, lay what was called the Sustern Spital, or Sisters' Hospital, a house for fifteen sisters who went out at the prior's bidding to nurse the poor of the neighbourhood. And to the east of the mill-stream was situated a house called "The Garret," or "Prior's Garret,"¹ a name signifying a watch-tower, for which purpose it was well situated, on the angle between the high road and the field pathway which led eventually to St. Cross Hospital.

A considerable part of this land was Wykeham's own property as bishop; and he ascertained by inquiry that other proprietors were willing to sell their interest. Accordingly in the year 1382 he applied for the king's license to found the college in this spot, which was given him on the 6th of October, 1382.² King Richard by this lets all men know that "at the prayer of William of Wykeham we have conceded and given leave, for ourselves and our heirs, to (1) the prior and convent of St. Swithun, to give and concede to the aforesaid bishop a messuage, ten acres and a half of land, and three acres of meadow, with the pertinencies thereof, in the Soke of Winton, near the city of Winton; and to (2) Thomas Tanner, of the Soke of Winton, to give to the same one messuage with pertinencies; and to (3)

Royal license
to found Wir-
chester Colleg

¹ "La Garite," or "Prior's garret."

² Kirby, p. 12.

Thomas Lavington, to give to the same one messuage with pertinencies in the Soke aforesaid, which he holds of the bishop as belonging to the see ; to have and to hold of us and our heirs for ever by the services thence due and customary : and that the said bishop, when he has got full and peaceful seisin, may found a college, or house, or hall to God's honour and glory and the increase of the divine service of his glorious Mother the Virgin Mary, as also for the increase of divine worship, as well in and on the said messuages, land, and meadow, as in and on three other messuages in the said Soke, which the said bishop now holds as a part of the temporals of his see ; and may put on it and give to it a fixed name."

This—about five acres in the South Soke—was the site of the future college. The royal license having been obtained, there was no delay in purchasing the land.

Purchases of
land.

On October 10th the prior and convent of St. Swithun¹ executed the deed which gave him their messuage, acre and a half of land, and three acres of meadow. This meadow land consisted of two "meads": Dummer's mead being apparently the northernmost, and Otterbourne mead lying to the south of it. By a subsequent deed,² dated June 15th the next year, the bishop, declaring that he does not wish to rob the priory, makes over to the prior and convent certain hereditaments at West Meon, which yield a rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum, which sum the bishops have been accustomed to receive yearly as rent for Dummer's mead.

On October 13th Thomas Tanner and Thomas Lavington³ both sold their houses to the bishop ; and on June 15th, 1383, Wykeham empowered John Campden and John Keton to receive seisin of the messuage and four acres and a half which he bought of the prior, and which formed the

¹ Kirby, p. 14.

² Id. p. 24.

³ Id. pp. 15, 16.

bulk of the site of the college. He had now acquired the whole site, except a narrow strip of land, 200 feet long by only 12 broad, lying along the edge of the king's road. This strip of land he did not actually acquire for eleven years more, and only within a month of the opening and dedication of the college. But as it is the site of all the principal frontage buildings, the bishop must have felt secure of it beforehand, and planned his design with the certainty that it would eventually fall into his hands.

But he was now in the full swing of building at his new college in Oxford; and he knew better than to undertake two works of such magnitude at once. But April, 1386, saw the opening and dedication of his Oxford college, and consequently he was free to devote his whole energies to his building at Winchester.

Accordingly, on the 26th of March, 1387, at nine o'clock in the morning, the first stone of the new College was laid;¹ probably in the foundations of the chapel, for here, as at Oxford, the chapel was his chief care. As at Oxford, the precinct was bounded on the north by the city wall; but at Winchester, there was besides the protection of the mill stream, which was not the case at Oxford. And at Winchester the approach to the college had to be made from the north; there was no approaching it from the west, as at Oxford. Accordingly, the experienced eye of Wykeham determined to build only on two acres out of the five which he had bought, and those two in the angle between the wall and the river; and to place the principal block of building, which was to contain the chapel, with the dining hall at its end, as at New College, at the southern extremity, with the east

Begins to build
Winchester
College, March
1387.

Order of
building.

¹ "Cujus quidem primi lapidis positio fuerat facta XXV^{to} die mensis Martii, hora autem iij ante meridiem, anno domini M^oCCC^o LXXXVI^o, regni veri regis Ricardi secundi anno X^o, et consecrationis dicti patris anno XX^o, ætatis vero suæ anno LXVII^o."—Heath, xi. Both the last dates have to be rectified.

Fresh purchases of land.

window of the chapel overlooking the river. As at New College, the rest of the chapel quadrangle contained the dwelling rooms for warden, fellows, master, and boys. Outside, to the northward, were the necessary offices, arranged on the two sides of another and somewhat larger irregular square—the slaughter house, the bakehouse, the stable yard, all necessities of a self-supporting establishment. As has been said, the waste strip of ground¹ nearest the city wall was not acquired till the rest was finished, when it was found necessary also to take in a rood of ground between the north western angle of the new building and the Sustern Spital. Both of these, therefore, were granted to Wykeham by the king, as proprietor of the highway, on March 1st, 1393.

In April, 1390, while the college was building, William Ashwell a fuller, and Alice his wife, enfeoffed Nicholas Wykeham of three cottages which stood on part of the site of the college. But as his wife's right to dower could not be barred by a simple alienation, Ashwell submitted to a suit, in which Nicholas Wykeham obtained a judgment against him and his wife: bishop Wykeham, of course, paying the cost as the party for whose benefit the suit was brought.²

Society take possession of Winchester College, March, 1393.

The buildings on the lately purchased strips of land—a malt room and brewhouse, a porter's lodge, and stabling—could hardly have been begun, when it was determined to have the college opened. But all the more material parts were fully completed by the 28th of March, 1393. On that day, at nine o'clock in the morning, the warden, fellows, and scholars made their solemn entrance with a view to habitation, walking in procession, preceded by a

¹ Kirby, pp. 34, 35.

² *Winchester College Muniments*. This seems to be the original of the story of Thomas Devereux, the tailor, told in Cockerell, p. 14, on the authority of warden Barter: though how to account for the change of name I cannot say.

cross bearer, and chanting.¹ The warden was no longer Thomas Cranlegh, who had been appointed in 1382. He had resigned on May 12th, 1389,² and on the 23rd of the same month, Wykeham had appointed John Westcote, B.D., in his place. The head master was John Melton.³

The rooms were assigned to the inmates as follows.⁴ The fellows were to inhabit the upper rooms in the inner quadrangle, three fellows occupying a single room. The seventy scholars were accommodated in the six lower chambers, two of the younger ones occupying one bed, and not sleeping in single beds till they were fourteen years old. Three of the older and more advanced scholars in each chamber were to watch over the rest, to superintend their studies, and to be responsible for their good conduct.⁵ To the warden was assigned the suite of rooms extending from the room over the middle gate to the north-east corner of the quadrangle; to the head master and usher,⁶ the upper rooms west of these on the north side of the quadrangle. The large chamber beneath the dining-hall⁷ was to be always the school for the scholars.

Some "socii," or fellows, there were from the first, for we find that such took part in the entrance procession. But Wykeham intended "perpetual" or "priest-fellows" to play a prominent part in the economy of his college, and therefore was careful in the selection of them. The first five of them he admitted on December 20th, 1394;⁸ their

Wykeham
admits five
"perpetual
fellows."

¹ Quorum quidem ingressus primus ad inibi inhabitandum fuit hora iij ante meridiem, xxviiij^o die mensis Martii, anno domini m^occc^oxxciii^o, regni vero regis Ricardi xviij^o, cum cruce erecta præcedente, sollemni cantu, processionaliter gradiendo."—Heath, 11 a.

² Reg. iii, 239.

³ Id. 240.

⁴ Stat. Wint. § 34.

⁵ Thus the number of eighteen "prefects" is according to Wykeham's original plan for the college.

⁶ With these was to be the tenth fellow, the other nine being disposed of as above.

⁷ Till lately, "Seventh Chamber;" now a reading room.

⁸ Reg. iii, 278.

names were Henry Beach, John Self, Thomas Knight, Robert Lemansworth, and John More.

Further
building.

Probably the building was still going on for two years after the entry; for on July 7th, 1395, Wykeham gives,¹ dating from Farnham, a commission to Simon bishop of Achonry, in Ireland, empowering him to consecrate "the chapel of our college of St. Mary Winton, in our diocese, with the altars built in the same, and the place assigned for a cemetery in the said college, and the stones for super-altars." By this time the chapel was completed: he had also erected a temporary wooden bell-tower at a little distance from its walls. A permanent tower, instead of doing it himself later, as at New College, he left to a later generation to erect: it was executed by bishop Waynflete in 1482. Also, he made no attempt to build a cloister, beyond enclosing and consecrating the "garth," or cemetery: that was the work of John Fromond, his steward, and was finished, with the chantry in its centre, about 1430.²

Royal charter
of privileges.

In September, 1395, he obtained for his college a large charter of privileges from the king. By this Richard, observing³ that Wykeham wishes to secure for his college yet ampler privileges than he has yet bestowed on it, says that he grants them of his special grace, and by reason of his own affection to the bishop's person, "because he has diligently and faithfully paid fruitful observance to us and our realm now for a long time, not without costly and unwearied labours to the great detriment of his own health." For these reasons he grants to his newly founded society,—warden, scholars, and chaplains:—(1) immunity from the burdens of all services whatsoever done to himself and his officers; (2) freedom from liability to pay either aids to the state, or the tenths or fifteenths which might be imposed on the clergy; (3) the perpetual right to the

¹ Kirby, p. 41.

² Cockerell, pp. 21, 22.

³ Kirby, p. 36.

free enjoyment of their present buildings ; (4) the right to refuse lodging to the king's officers, and to immunity from the burden of purveyance, for which purpose he declares he has taken the college under his special protection ; (5) immunity from paying any pension, corrody, or sustenance which hereafter may be levied on any of the college lands by any of his successors. This document is signed by all the principal officers both in the Church and state, and dated at Westminster, on September 28th, 1395.

Thus did Wykeham, about ten years before his death, complete the design which he had been prosecuting for more than a quarter of a century. It still remained to give statutes to the twin colleges : and for this one form of words, only so much varied as the different purposes of the colleges rendered necessary, would suffice. Thus arose the two codes of statutes for New College and for Winchester ; the same in outline, introduction, and conclusion. That they were prepared with the utmost care a glance at them will show. Instead of the somewhat rough generalities of the rules given by former founders, Wykeham's are prepared with a characteristic minuteness, and lawyer-like elaboration of the smallest details. He reserved to himself full power of changing, augmenting, or abrogating them during his life ; they were constantly being revised by him, and it¹ was not till 1400 that they took their final shape.

Wykeham prepares statute for Oxford and Winchester.

I. The principal² place in his conception was occupied by his college for the future training of his students at Oxford. This consisted of exactly a hundred members ; a warden, seventy students, ten chaplains, three clerks, and sixteen chorister-boys. The numbers at Winchester were

Composition of the two colleges.

¹ He ordered an oath to the statutes to be administered to New College, 16th February, 1390, and again 23rd September, 1400. To Winchester he ordered the archdeacon of Surrey to administer the oath, 9th September, 1400.

² Stat. Coll. Ox. i. Win. i.

as little varied from this as the different purpose of the college would admit. The warden was strengthened for purposes of consultation by ten perpetual fellows, whose duty it was to look after the concerns of the college, and to take their meals with the boys in the dining-hall. There were seventy students, as at Oxford, but these were under the tuition of a headmaster (*informator*) and an usher (*hostiarius*). The chapel staff consisted of three priest-chaplains (instead of ten as at Oxford), three lay clerks, and sixteen choristers, in all making a hundred and five college members.

election to
the colleges.

2. There was to be¹ an annual election of scholars to both colleges; for which purpose Oxford was to send to Winchester every summer its warden and two fellows, to hold an examination with the assistance of the warden, sub-warden, and head master of Winchester. The boys chosen into Winchester were to be poor and needy, sufficiently taught in reading, plain song, and "the grammar of old Donatus"; none but those who showed capacity and fitness (*habiles et idonei*) were eligible. At the same time the senior boys at Winchester were to be placed in order of merit, so as to fill any vacancies which might occur during the following year at Oxford. The kinsmen of the founder were always to have the preference; after them, natives of places where the colleges held estates; then natives of counties to the south of England, exclusive of Cornwall and Devon, and inclusive of Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Essex.

Of the seventy scholars² at Oxford, ten were to be students of civil law, ten of canon law. The remaining fifty were to study philosophy or theology; except that there might always be two studying medicine, and two astronomy.

¹ Ox. 3. Win. 3.

² Ox. 1.

3. The next section¹ of both statute books refers to the officers, and among them first to the two wardens. They are both to be chosen by the whole body of fellows at New College. They both preside over the other members of their colleges; but the Oxford warden is the senior official of the two, and as such takes precedence of all. In return for their superintendence of their colleges, an absolute obedience is demanded from the other members. They both have suites of rooms assigned to them, in one corner of the quadrangle, by the entrance gate; as well as a yearly stipend and daily commons.

Officers of
the colleges.

At Winchester, its peculiar body of ten perpetual fellows was to be chosen by co-optation with the aid of the warden. The three priest-chaplains were to be nominated by the warden.

There were to be sub-wardens at both colleges, chosen annually by the warden and fellows. The warden and fellows of New College were also to elect annually five deans, one for each of the faculties in which students were studying, and three bursars; those of Winchester to elect the head master and usher, and two annual bursars.

4. Directions² for the use of the dining-halls follow. The commons of the members of both colleges are exactly stated, the allowance however being raised in seasons of scarcity, because of the high price of food; and their places at the tables are assigned them. A passage of the Bible is to be read publicly at dinner-time, amid strict silence; after a meal students are to disperse at once.

The dining-
halls.

5. Then follow³ minute directions as to the dress of the members of the college. Those at Oxford, who would be the most tempted to transgress the rule, were warned against wearing cloaks (*cloacæ*), red and green gaiters

Dress of the
members.

¹ Ox. 9—14. Win. 6—12.

² Ox. 15—20. Win. 13—16.

³ Ox. 22, 23. Win. 27.

(*caligæ*), peaked shoes (*sotularia*), knotted hoods (*caputiæ*), belts or girdles with gold or silver ornaments ; and, except at a distance from the university, they might not wear epaulettes (*armulansæ*). Those at Winchester, in like manner, were warned against wearing striped (*stragulatæ*), pied (*variegatæ*), or parti-coloured clothes. The dresses for which the colleges were to be chargeable yearly were : for the wardens, twelve yards of cloth properly watered, dried, and shorn, costing £6. 6s. For the fellows at Oxford, enough cloth to make each of them a waistcoat (*subtunica*), coat (*supertunica*), and long gown (*tabarda talaris*), which last might, if they pleased, be exchanged for a cape and hood,—of different prices, according to their different degrees. For the fellows and head master of Winchester, eight yards of cloth for long robes (*talares*). The ten chaplains at Oxford had five yards, the three at Winchester six apiece, the usher at Winchester five, allowed them. To each of the scholars and lay clerks at Winchester, four yards of cloth were allowed to make long gowns (*togæ talares*), the cost of which was not to exceed £1. 3s. 4d. apiece, and its colour not to be white, black, russet, or grey¹ (*glauco*).

Duties of the
members.

6. The statutes next² discuss the duties of the members, and here they are much more lengthy for those at Oxford than for those at Winchester. But at neither college may any, except the wardens, keep hawks, falcons (*nisæ*), hounds, or ferrets, or indulge in hunting, fishing, or playing with stones, within the college enclosures. For the fellows at Oxford, the time is laid down when they were to proceed to their several degrees, and when to the priesthood, and permission is given to help poor men in taking their degrees. And at both colleges the expenses of those fellows who

¹ Possibly, that the scholars might not be confounded with the white, grey, or black friars, all of whom had houses in Winchester. The statute has long been directly infringed.

² Ox. 23—32. Win. 17, 18.

take journeys upon college business are to be paid.

The next branch of the statutes¹ deals with offences. Offences, not punishable.
No quarrels or bickerings are to be allowed in either college; the offender is to lose his commons for a length of time in proportion to his offence. The wardens may be removed by the bishop of Winchester if they cause dilapidation, or the alienation of land, or have committed murder, or acted incontinently. For like crimes any member of the colleges may be expelled, and the fellowships are *ipso facto* vacant if they hold benefices of above £20 a year value; those below that sum they may hold for a year with their fellowships.

8. Then follow² minute directions as to the prayers in private and in the chapels. Their private morning prayers were to be an antiphon³ and a versicle⁴ out of the matin service for Trinity Sunday, the Collect⁵ for Trinity Sunday, and a short prayer for the founder⁶ during his life; after his death they must substitute for this last another longer⁷ prayer.⁷ Each one was during the day, at the time which best suited him, to pray for the souls of king Edward III and queen Philippa, and Edward prince of Wales; and to add prayers for king Richard II and queen Anne after their death. They were also to pray for the founder's father and mother, and for the founder himself when he was dead.⁸ Prayers in public and private.

In the chapels likewise certain prayers⁹ were to be said,

¹ Ox. 33—38. Win. 19—25. ² Ox. 42—46. Win. 28—30.

³ "Libera nos," etc., (Proctor and Wordsworth, f. mxlix).

⁴ "Benedicamus Patrem" (id. f. mlv).

⁵ "Omnipotens sempiterne," etc., (id. f. mxlvii), translated in our Prayer Book.

⁶ "Rege quaesumus Domine Willelmum Pontificem Fundatorem nostrum."

⁷ "Deus qui inter apostolicos," etc.—P. and W. 530.

⁸ The prayers to be said in memory of these were the 130th Psalm, the Lesser Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the angelic salutation of the Blessed Virgin, with two collects, "Inclina Domine" (P. and W. p. 282) and "Fidelium Deus" (Id. p. 532).

⁹ "De profundis" (Ps. 130), the Lord's Prayer, the angelic salutation, and the collects, "Inclina Domine" and "Absolve quaesumus" (P. and W. f. mccccxlvii). After the founder's death they were to insert, "Deus, qui inter apostolicos" before these two last collects.

three times a day—after high mass, after nones, and after compline, at the end of which prayers the ruler of the choir was to say aloud (after Wykeham's death), "May the soul of our founder William, and the souls of all the faithful dead, through God's mercy, rest in peace." The same service was to be repeated after the grace which followed breakfast and dinner daily in the hall. The warden and fellows of New College were also to hear a mass daily, and to repeat the Salutation fifty times, with the Lord's Prayer inserted after every tenth repetition of the Salutation.

The services at the canonical hours were strictly enjoined on both colleges; and, in addition, processions round the cloister at New College.¹ At eleven great feasts of the year the warden, or a principal person of the colleges, was to officiate; at other feasts, the persons of less dignity. On the feast of the Holy Innocents, the boys (apparently the choristers) were to say and sing matins and the other canonical hours, according to the Sarum use.² Seven masses were also to be said daily, except on Good Friday: the first for the Virgin; the second for the repose of the souls of benefactors; the third for the day, according to Sarum use; the fourth specially for the first of the benefactors, Sir Ralph Sutton; the fifth for two others of the same, Sir John Scures and Thomas Foxley;³ the sixth and seventh for the founder. Besides these daily masses, there were to be at New College four yearly exequies for the souls of these benefactors; and the anniversary of the day of the founder's death was always to be celebrated with a special service at both colleges. Special prayers also were to be offered at New College for John Buckingham, bishop of Lincoln, in grateful remembrance of

¹ The Winchester cloister being not yet built.

² P. and W. ff. ccxxx, ccxxxii, ccxlv.

³ A fourth and fifth are added for Winchester—Andrew Jervis and John Woodlock.

his gift to the college of the advowsons of Swalcliffe and Adderbury ; and an English sermon was to be preached in the chapel on the feast of the Annunciation.

9. The next section of the statutes¹ was about the property of the two colleges, the manors, advowsons, and other possessions belonging to them, which were not to be alienated, nor pensions to be granted out of them. Then followed² two in each code upon the arrangement of the buildings, and the different uses to which each was destined : these have already been referred to in the narratives of the first occupation of the colleges. Then arrangements³ as to the financial business of the two colleges, progresses to examine the state of their property, audits of their accounts, and fair copies of the same.

Property of the colleges.

Arrangement of buildings,

and other business.

10. After this follow⁴ miscellaneous rubrics, in almost the same words in the two codes : on the holding of days of scrutiny into the state of the colleges ; the preservation of the libraries and of the statute-books ; a prohibition of stone-throwing against the chapels, and of dancing or violent games in the halls ; and on closing the gates of the two colleges. And last of all followed⁵ the summing up of all, and the statement of the main purpose of the foundations, which has already been referred to.

Miscellaneous rubrics,

and conclusion

This main purpose was the education of poor and needy (*pauperes et indigentes*) scholars until they arrived at the priesthood of the Church. But an ambiguity arises on the terms "poor and needy." By these words, Wykeham certainly did not mean to denote the lowest class of the population, or anything like it. These may have been "poor and needy" in the general sense of the words ; yet, they would have had no exclusive claim to Wykeham's benefac-

What class of Wykeham's scholars belong to?

¹ Ox. 48—51. Win. 11, 32, 33.

² Ox. 52, 53. Win. 34, 35.

³ Ox. 54—58. Win. 36—39.

⁴ Ox. 59—67. Win. 40—45.

⁵ Ox. 68. Win. 46.

tion. Let us examine the early registers of Winchester, to see whom he actually took for education. Among the first twenty-five scholars admitted, all have English names; there are no Norman names among them. Clearly, therefore, they did not belong to the upper classes. Nine¹ of them have local names, among them Wykeham; three—Carpenter, Frocker, and Constable—are names of trades; six—Gold, King, Herring, Pollard, Little, Pear—are names which probably originated in nicknames. In short, the aspect of the names points to their being extracted from the class from which Wykeham himself came, that of the upper churls. It was for this class, doubtless, that Wykeham would feel the most sympathy in their endeavours to get into the ministry; these, doubtless, formed the bulk of his scholars, though here and there a boy of humbler extraction might have been recommended by some influential patron.

Origin of
"commoners."

Meanwhile, it is quite certain that boys of a higher rank could find no place among them, both because they could not have been called "poor and needy," and because Wykeham provides for such elsewhere. "We allow,"² he says in his statutes, "that the sons of noble and capable persons who are special friends to the said college be able, to the number of ten, to be instructed inside the same college in grammar, and also taught, being no expense to the said college; yet so that on that account no prejudice, loss, or scandal arise or emerge in any way whatever to warden, priests, scholars, clerks, or any servants of the said college."³ To these also Martin refers, when he says, "He

¹ Brooks, Well, and Crook indicate possibly a lower social stratum than Hatton, Twyford, Wykeham, Moordon, Wroughton, and Wyke.

² Stat. Win. 16.

³ "Permittimus tamen quod filii nobilium et valentium personarum dicti collegii specialium amicorum, usque ad numerum decennarium, infra idem collegium in grammatica instrui valeant, et etiam informari absque onere collegii supradicti: ita quod ea occasione præjudicium, damnum, vel scandalum, custodi, presbyteris, scholaribus, vel clericis, aut alicui ministrorum ejusdem collegii non fiant aut eveniant quovismodo."—Stat. Win. 16.

brought up, at his own cost, a great many boys—as appears from the Winchester college archives—besides those who were enrolled members of the college, in the city and suburbs of Winchester, who were taught in the college along with his own students.”¹

Wykeham's was indeed a grand conception, and for five hundred years it has borne noble fruit. Yet the fruit that it has borne has not exactly tallied with what must have been the founder's expectation. He expected that his foundation would be a seminary for priests of the English Church; and well has even that ideal been fulfilled. And yet, had it been as exclusive as he wished to make it, it would have had all the faults as well as the advantages of a seminary. But it has developed into something wider than a mere seminary for clergy. It has developed into a public school, and the first in date of our English public schools. And the accident by which it has done so has been the inter-fusion among its members of these commoners whom Wykeham thus allowed to mix with his scholars. He probably did it entirely for the sake of the commoners themselves; had he anticipated their beneficial effect upon his scholars he would have allowed them to come in a larger proportion than that of one to every seven. Yet the number of commoners has increased till it is nearly five times that of the original seventy; and Winchester is by no means now an exclusively clerical school.

But what made the school so popular, what at first attracted the *fili nobilium*, was the adequacy of the course

Wykeham th
the Father of
the public
school system

¹ “Præterea pueros etiam complures (ut ex archivis collegii Wintoniensis constat) extra eos qui in collegium fuerant ascripti, in urbe atque suburbis Wintoniæ, qui una cum alumnis suis in collegio instituerentur, suis sumptibus aluit.”—Martin, iii, 2, p. 207. I see no reason for distinguishing these two classes of commoners from each other, as Mr. Adams does, and making them respectively the ancestors of the “gentlemen commoners,” and the “ordinary commoners:” though these both undoubtedly existed as distinct classes in the 16th century.—Adams' *Wykehamica*, pp. 102—107.

of instruction there given to meet the needs of each successive generation. This was what from the first has made Winchester a popular school ; and of this Wykeham was the original author. We may therefore deservedly entitle him the Father of the public school system in England. And to anyone who considers what that system has made of Englishmen for the last five hundred years ; what manliness and self-respect it has engendered, at the same time that it reproves eccentricities and idiosyncrasies,—this will not seem the least of the many honours which crown the name of the humble bishop of Winchester.

CHAPTER X.

WYKEHAM'S SECOND CHANCELLORSHIP.

A.D. 1389—1391.

KING RICHARD, although for the first few months of 1389 he was still apparently kept down by the strong arm of his uncle duke Thomas of Gloucester, was working secretly towards a resumption of power. And he succeeded in detaching the earls of Derby and Nottingham from the party in office, and getting their promises of support. Duke Edmund of York was notoriously an inactive, indolent man, who would never undertake responsibility single-handed, and who counted for little more than a cipher in the counsels of the opposition. The king's two chief remaining enemies were Gloucester himself, and Richard earl of Arundel, the Chancellor's brother, who had but just returned from a successful naval campaign along the coasts of France.

The king working towards a resumption of power.

Richard now resolved to win back his power by one of his bold strokes. He entered (May 3rd, 1389) into the council chamber, and asked how old he was. The answer was that he was twenty-three. "Then," said he, "I must certainly be of age; I will no longer submit to restraint, but will govern the kingdom for myself." He then demanded the Great Seal from archbishop Arundel, who at once handed it to him in its leathern bag. The king put it into his bosom, and went out; but returning at once and resuming his seat, offered it to the bishop of Winchester.

He suddenly offers the Great Seal to Wykeham.

Wykeham
hesitates,

Wykeham was very loth to accept it ; indeed he at first declined it altogether.¹ He was not an ambitious man, and the experience of twenty years before had been such, that we may easily conceive him unwilling to renew it. The months during which he had lost the favour of his sovereign had been the direct consequence of his former tenure of office.

Yet there was much to point in the opposite direction. He could not but be conscious that his management of the war with France, which had broken out soon after the beginning of his former chancellorship, had been a failure ; but now there was a probability of the war being suspended, and being succeeded by peace. In point of fact, within the next two months a truce was concluded for three years, which was lengthened out until king Richard married the daughter of king Charles. Foreign relations being thus tranquil, Wykeham's chief concern in the chancellorship would be the internal affairs of the kingdom. And here he must have felt, as the king also no doubt felt in pressing the Great Seal on him, that he could do what perhaps no other man in the kingdom could do towards pacifying the rupture between the king and the lords, and settling the government of the country upon a solid constitutional basis. He was committed to neither side ; his affection for the king dated from the time when his father prince Edward was living : and it would really be of lasting benefit both to him and the country if he could, as he thought he could, reconcile the contending parties by moderate and yet firm conduct. And the sequel of events showed that he was in the right.

but finally
accepts office.

No doubt he sounded the king anxiously, to know how far he was willing to take advice ; for on this depended all his chances of doing good. The king was in earnest in

¹ "Quamvis plurimum renitentem."—Walsingham, p. 337.

wishing for his services as Chancellor; and therefore he could make pretty much his own terms. He consented the next day (May 4th) to undertake to start the new administration; and the Great Seal, enclosed in its leathern bag¹ (*baga de corio*), was formally delivered to him by the king. Out of this Wykeham drew it the next morning at eight o'clock in the chancery, after which the business proceeded regularly. He chose for Treasurer his old colleague, bishop Brantingham of Exeter, who had already filled this office during the two last years of Wykeham's former chancellorship; who was his Keeper of the Privy Seal we are not told.²

The composition of the privy council was the first anxiety of the new Chancellor. The king was opposed to the whole body of the appellants, with the exception of Derby; and Wykeham was forced for the present to yield the point, though he must have determined to secure as impartial a council as he could at the first practicable moment. The other four appellants were therefore dismissed—duke Thomas of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel, Nottingham, and Warwick.

Privy council
how compose

On May 8th,³ probably by Wykeham's advice, the king by proclamation informed the people that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands, that he intended faithfully to maintain the ordinances of the parliament at Westminster, and that he should suspend the collection of the subsidy which had lately been granted, till he was better convinced that his necessities required it.

King's
proclamation

On the 15th of August the truce was signed with France for three years and a day.⁴ This was no doubt

Truce with
France.

¹ Rym. vii, p. 617.

² "Le gardein de prive seal" is always mentioned as present at the council meetings, but his name is not given.—Nicolas' *Proceedings of the Privy Council*.

³ Rym. vii, 617.

⁴ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 257.

what Wykeham had looked forward to on becoming Chancellor ; and it must have been a really joyful event to him, as his powers lay more in the direction of peace than of war.

About the same time bishop Brantingham resigned the treasury, and Wykeham appointed instead John Gilbert, bishop of St. David's, who served for the remaining duration of his chancellorship.¹

Minutes kept
of privy council
proceedings.

The same month marks an era in the proceedings of the privy council. For on the 20th was the first meeting of that body of which record exists. Not much is known about the procedure before this ; the council was "privy" or "secret," and probably no record of its proceedings was made. But now Wykeham, who was the senior member of the council as well as the Chancellor (having been its President not less than twenty-five years before), resolved upon keeping short minutes of such proceedings ; and henceforth we have the minutes of such meetings as took place, hardly ever less frequently than once a month, often once a week, or on two or three successive days.² At its first meeting, August 20th, there were eleven members present besides the Chancellor, four of them being the prominent Lollard knights, Sir John Clanvow, Sir William Neville, Sir Lewis Clifford, and Sir Richard Sturry.

Dispute with
king about
governors of
Scottish
marches ;

In the month of October a serious difference of opinion arose between the council and the king. It was again on the subject of the payment for defending the Scottish marches, on which Wykeham had spoken out in parliament six years before. These marches were garrisoned all along the line, and especially by the strongholds of Carlisle and

¹ Stubbs, ii, p. 485.

² *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, by Sir H. Nicolas. The name of the first clerk was John Prophet, whose hand-writing is often illegible. The records are kept in French. The meetings this year were on August 20th, September 13th, October 15th, November 12th, 13th, 20th, 22nd, 28th, and 29th, and December 10th.

Berwick, which cities were defended by governors appointed by indenture to last for a term of years, and paid by salary, who also were usually the wardens of the west and east marches. The warden of the west march and governor of Carlisle was now Sir Henry Percy, called Hotspur, to distinguish him from his father, the earl of Northumberland; and Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, and marshal of England, was the warden of the east march, and governor of Berwick. Perhaps there was some friction between him and Hotspur, the warden of the west march; at any rate, he applied to be continued in his office, at a salary of £4,000 a year for the governorship of Berwick in times of peace, as well as £2,000 for guarding the marches; and £12,000 in time of war, besides an extra force of men-at-arms and bowmen. The king¹ was favourable to his demand; he wished to gain Nottingham over to his side by liberal pensions; but Wykeham and the council, among whom was Northumberland himself, withstood it. They pointed out, by the Chancellor, that the existing indentures extended to the following June, and that there was no need to make a fresh bargain before that date; that the sum the marshal demanded was a heavy one, and must be paid by taxation, which would make the people's burdens heavier than ever. The king was very angry, and tried to scold them out of their opposition. Nevertheless, they refused to give up their point; on which the king left them in a rage, and saying, "At your peril be it if anything happens," retired to his palace at Kennington.

privy council
insist on their
opinion;

Next day (16th) the members of the council held an informal gathering without the king in the Star Chamber at Westminster. They again discussed the point, and unanimously resolved to stand firm in their refusal to sanction the appointment. Of this resolve they apprised

¹ *Proceedings of Privy Council*, i, p. 12.

spite
promised.

Richard at Kennington. The king saw that he was opposed by wills as resolute as his own, and suggested a compromise. It was that the marshal's governorship of Berwick should be confirmed for five years beyond the term of his former indenture, and on the same conditions. He added that he saw no such impossibility in this ; and that the same might be done in the case of the earl of Northumberland, who might similarly be made governor of Carlisle and warden of the west marches. This compromise was finally agreed to unanimously.¹

This scene shows us to what difficulties Wykeham was liable during his administration. The king had been wont to let all public business alone, except by fits and starts ; but now he had declared his intention of governing, which he had no notion of doing except despotically. But he was met by a firm but constitutional opposition, which refused to give way at his bursts of violence, and acted under consciousness of being responsible to parliament for the advice they gave. The king had but one alternative : if he had persisted, Wykeham would have resigned, and so the hopes of moderate policy which he had conceived last May would have been at an end.²

aw pope
aims adhesion
England.

In November, the council met no less than six times. On the 20th, it was occupied with discussing the position in which England was placed by the death of pope Urban VI, which had happened on October 15th, but of which the news had just come, and with it that of the election of his successor, Boniface IX, who sent to claim the adhesion of England. Northumberland advised the king to say that he could not take so important a step without the advice of

¹ *Proceedings of Privy Council*, i, p. 12.

² Cf. Nicolas' Introduction to *Proceedings of P. Council*. "Thus some support is afforded to the charge brought against him at his deposition, that he was accustomed at councils to reprimand and interrupt the members in so sharp and sudden a manner as to prevent them from expressing their sentiments."

his parliament, which was not in session.¹ This course was decided on, and on the 20th, two members of the privy council—Sir John Dallingridge and Sir Lewis Clifford—were despatched to Rome with messages to this effect.

Wykeham now began to feel sufficiently strong in his position to make a move in Gloucester's favour; but first he desired the presence in England of duke John. He had absolutely forgotten the past, and he wished the king also to forget it, and to receive both his uncles with favour. Richard, sore as he had felt with duke John before his going abroad, hated him less than his brother Thomas, and thought that he would prove a valuable makeweight to Gloucester's influence. He, therefore, wrote to Lancaster, (October 30th) bidding him return.² Duke John had not been so successful in war as in the arts of diplomacy. The army with which he had attacked Castile in alliance with Portugal had dwindled away, and he himself fell sick and was obliged to withdraw to Guienne. While there, he had induced the king of Castile to marry his son prince Enrique to his own daughter, Catherine, in whom was vested her mother's claim to the throne as daughter of king Pedro the Cruel. This marriage had taken place in 1388, and now duke John was quietly residing in Guienne. On the receipt of the king's message, he asked for letters patent giving him formal authority to come to England. These were given at the end of November; ³ and in the first day of December, duke John crossed the channel.

King sends
Guienne for
duke John.

Immediately on his return, Lancaster persuaded the king to a sort of reconciliation with Gloucester; and both of them, with the rest of the appellants—Arundel, Nottingham, and Warwick—were re-admitted to the privy council.⁴ Wykeham had now secured the point at which he

Appellants
re-admitted to
privy council

¹ *Proc. of P. Council*, i, p. 14.

² *Rym.* vii, p. 648.

³ *P. of P. Council*, i, p. 14.

⁴ *Id.* p. 17.

had been aiming,—a fairly representative council, composed of the men who had been in arms against one another in the previous year. The king, in spite of occasional outbreaks, was for the most part kept in check in a constitutional manner; and this wonderful result was arrived at through the sagacity and firm moderation of the man whom the king had had the wisdom to select as Chancellor.

Parliament,
1390, opened
by Wykeham.

Matters had thus settled themselves by the time the king and Chancellor were called upon to face parliament, in January, 1390. On January 17th the lords and commons assembled, and Wykeham opened the debates as usual by declaring the reasons of their summons. The principal reason,¹ he said, for such summons was “because the king, who has been for a long time of tender age, is now of such age, thank God, that he is of greater sense and discretion than he was before. And however much he has been all the time well-disposed to govern his people in quiet, peace, and tranquility, right, and justice, he is now more and better disposed and firmly purposed to govern his said people and his land still better, if better he can. And he wishes that as well holy Church as the lords, spiritual and temporal, and the commons, should so have and enjoy their liberty, franchises, and privileges henceforth, as they have reasonably used and enjoyed them in the time of his noble ancestors the kings of England.”

After this apology, which was conceived in the same spirit as Richard's proclamation on the first formation of his new ministry, Wykeham proceeded as follows :—

“And further he declares that the kingdom is surrounded with enemies, namely, France, Spain, and Guienne on one side, and Scotland and Ireland on the other. None can yet know for certain whether the truce which now

¹ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 257.

obtains between our lord the king and his adversaries of France and Scotland, to last from the 15th day of August last past at sunrise, to the 16th day of August, A.D. 1392, at sunrise, will hold good or not. And however much it holds good, still there is need that we take order for the safeguard of the march of Scotland, and of Calais, Brest, and Cherbourg, and also for the protection of the lands of Ireland and Guienne in the meantime. Also we must debate upon the embassy to procure a treaty of peace, and the articles of which they shall treat, and the terms on which they shall finally agree. The king cannot, as is well-known, in any way bear the costs and charges necessary on this account, without aid from his lords and commons; and therefore it is needful that they take counsel and order, how and in what manner the said costs and charges can best be taken and raised, at the least charge to the people.

"Also the king wishes," he proceeded, "to be informed by the commons how the laws of his land and the statutes are kept and executed, and his peace maintained in all parts of his kingdom: and to be informed if any distrust the laws; and particularly of those who undertake and maintain quarrels and strifes in the land, to the disturbance of the law and oppression of the people. You must debate how such evils can best be redeemed and remedied, and the kingdom best governed in time to come. Moreover the said commons are bound, as of right and before God, to inform the king of these matters, and to put forth all their care and diligence to amend such faults to the best of their power."

Then followed the usual clause about the king's wish that right and justice should be done to all; and the appointment of clerks of the chancery to receive complaints, and of lords to answer them.

Next followed an unprecedented step, in which we

Ministry resided
their offices,

seem to trace the handiwork of the Chancellor. On the 20th January "all the lords of the privy council prayed the king to consider the great troubles and costs which they had constantly borne and suffered whilst they held their offices, and to discharge them."¹ Richard gave the required leave to the ministry to resign, and further discharged his privy council. Coming therefore before parliament as private individuals, they prayed openly in parliament that if any wished to complain of them that they had done any wrong, they would do so now before the king, lords, and commons. The parliament was upon this adjourned to the next day, when the king ordered the duke of Lancaster to enquire what answer the lords and commons gave to the members of his late privy council. They replied that they had made enquiry, and found that everything had been done well: and the commons thanked the lords of the council for their faithful and good conduct. "Whereupon, the king charged the bishop of Winchester again with the office of Chancellor, and again delivered to him the Great Seal and also the Treasurer; and took again the councillors to his council, and together with them the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester."

d are
stored.

We see that Wykeham's determination to be constitutional at every step here went hand in hand with his personal desire not again to run any risk of accusation, when the facts of his administration were half forgotten. For the privy councillors whom the king had removed when he became Chancellor had been appointed by parliament itself in the session of 1388; and on this plea, the parliament might well have challenged all the proceedings of the present ministry. But we can quite understand how this step should have been somewhat displeasing to the king, for he had only exercised his undoubted constitutional

¹ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 258.

right in appointing both the ministry and privy council. Though, therefore, Richard consented that the privy councillors should take oaths of loyalty in full parliament, he recorded his protest, that nothing now done should be a precedent, but that he should be able to appoint and remove his officers as he chose.

This scene over, and a number of petitions having been presented, which almost all had reference to the state of the Church, parliament proceeded to business, which occupied it for the next six weeks. We have no record of its proceedings ; we only know the result—a statute confirming that of 1351 about Provisors. This was the result of a long agitation on the subject which now had culminated. Urban VI, in return for the decision by which parliament recognized him as pope, had issued a bull reserving the two next vacant prebends in every collegiate Church, and handing the nominations over to the king. This was acting against the spirit, but not against the letter, of the statute about Provisors passed in 1351. To this, the parliament replied by a further restrictive law ; no subject, under the penalties of the statute of Provisors, was henceforth to administer the benefices of aliens. But the king continued to keep up his friendship with the pope by means of royal licenses—the dispensing power which he was allowed by that statute—in favour of the cardinals who were beneficed in England : and the pope, in return, confirmed the concordat between Edward III and Gregory XI, made at Bruges in 1374. Yet the parliament went on adding restrictions to the statute of Provisors ; while the king went on dispensing individual cases, and so practically rendering the statutes almost nugatory.

Statute of
Provisors, 1351

There can be little doubt on which side Wykeham would be, when the choice lay between the position taken up by the parliament, and that of the king.

The result was that the parliament of the spring of 1390 passed another statute of Provisors, a statute maintaining some of the principles which actuated the reforming house of commons in 1534.

After referring to the words and effect of former statutes of the same kind passed in the last reign, the preamble discusses the origin and purpose of the gifts of lands and possessions to the Church. Pious men, often kings, gave them liberally for God's honour, and the benefit of their souls, and of those of their fellowmen. To them, therefore, belongs the right of presentation on voidance of Church dignities or other benefices; in defeat of which the pope issues reservations, and provides to such benefices aliens, to the extreme inconvenience of the people, and contrary to the statute of 1361; and always upon such reservation demands the firstfruits from the incumbent whom he provides. This is the cause why further legislation is needed: and such further legislation follows, in a very trenchant form. The statute declares that elections to bishoprics and other dignities, as well as to other benefices, shall be free, as they were originally; that if the pope exercises the right of provision, the turn of presentation shall be forfeit to the king. Anyone disturbing free elections by procuring reservations or provisions from the pope shall be imprisoned on conviction, and give surety against such attempts in future. All provisions granted before the 29th of January next following shall hold good, all after it shall be null and void. Anyone accepting a benefice contrary to this statute shall be banished for life, and forfeit his lands and chattels. Anyone suing to Rome to infringe this statute shall be heavily fined. Anyone bringing or sending into England any summons or excommunication against a person for enforcing this statute shall forfeit lands and goods, and

besides incur the penalty of life and limb,¹ and he who shall publish such excommunication shall lose his temporals, if a bishop; if not, shall be imprisoned and fined.²

This was intended to be, and was, a severe blow to the papal interest in England; so severe that the two archbishops thought themselves obliged to enter a protest against it. They protested that "they intended nothing in restriction of the apostolic power, or in subversion, enervation, or derogation of the liberty of the church," but refused such statutes as tended to them.³

Archbishops
protest
against it.

This protest was made on March 2nd, the day on which the parliament broke up. On the same day the amount of the subsidy which the lords and commons had decided to grant in return for the concession of this statute was declared;⁴ and Lancaster was made duke of Aquitaine for life, for which he did homage to the king as king of France, and was invested with the ducal cap and gold rod.⁵

Dissolution of
parliament.

At the next meeting of the privy council, on March 8th, Wykeham submitted the rules he had drawn up for the future guidance of the privy council.⁶ These rules were so rigorous and so drastic, that we naturally wonder that the king submitted to be thus bound. It seems like a revival of the commission of 1386; but it was less objectionable in form, seeming to emanate from his own privy council; and so the king did not remonstrate, but let them take effect. They were as follows:—

Rules for the
privy council
submitted by
Wykeham,

1. The lords of the council shall meet between nine and ten in the morning at latest.
2. The business of the king and kingdom shall take precedence of all other.

and approved

¹ This clause was the subject of a petition from the present parliament; and the next clause was from the answer to the same. Rot. Parl. iii, p. 270.

² *Statutes of the Realm*, i, p. 243 and seqq.

³ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 264.

⁴ Id. p. 262.

⁵ Id. p. 263.

⁶ *Proc. of P. Council*, i, p. 18.

3. Matters touching the common law shall be sent to be determined before the justices.

4. Matters touching the Chancellor's office shall be sent to him in the Chancery.

5. Matters touching the Treasurer's office shall be sent to him in the Exchequer.

6. Matters in which the king's license is necessary shall be shewn to the king.

7. No grant in decrease of the king's profit shall pass without the advice of the council, and the assent of the duke of Guienne [Lancaster], York, and Gloucester, or at least two of them.

8. Other matters of great charge shall be determined by advice of those present, with the public officers.

9. Other matters of less charge shall be determined by Privy Seal with those present.

10. The ordinances touching offices in the king's gift shall be held and kept.

11. None shall be made sheriffs or justices for life.

12. Bachelors of the council shall have reasonable wages for their time.

13. Knights of the council shall be recompensed for their labours and costs at the king's and council's advice.

14. When a matter is once entered upon, it shall be finished before any other be touched.

Such were the regulations for the despatch of business by which Wykeham's address gained the main points at issue between the king and the appellants. Henceforth no king's grant was to be valid unless revised by his uncles ; the ordinances, meaning those of 1381, were to be strictly observed ; and no grants for life of the offices of steward or justice were to be valid.

Richard seemed content. Whether he really was so, or was only biding his time, must always remain uncertain. But we may surely presume that he was in earnest in making the attempt to govern constitutionally. He had acted with real self-restraint in the matter of his banished

favourites. The kingdom was at peace and prosperous. A strong hand and a wise head was at the helm of the administration.

The only person who seemed dissatisfied with the state of things was the pope. Boniface IX remonstrated at once. He sent an abbot to the king to enquire about this law which had been passed. The abbot told the king that the pope's wonder was extreme on hearing what had been done; that he did not wish to diminish the royal prerogative; yet he hoped that the obnoxious statute might be abolished.¹

Pope remonstrates with the king.

In the midst of the peace of England the weather proved inauspicious. Another visit of the plague, especially fatal to boys we are told, put England into mourning. This was followed by a rise in the price of corn and fruit; nevertheless, under the influence of a good harvest, they cheapened in the autumn.² And on November 12th—the morrow of St. Martin's day—the parliament met again.

On that day the Chancellor opened the proceedings with the usual speech:—

Second parliament 1390, opened by Wykeham

“He began by rehearsing many notable instances of the importance of good government: first in general, and then more especially of the good and noble government of our lord the king all his reign. And then he proceeded that the king wished that holy Church and the lords spiritual and temporal, as also cities and boroughs, should have and enjoy their liberties and franchises in future, as they have reasonably had and enjoyed them in the time of his noble ancestors, the kings of England.

“And further, he said (to give the substance only of his words), that treaties had been entered into between the king and his adversary of France for a certain time, as openly was declared at the last parliament. And that the bishop of Durham, the earl of Northumberland, and others, had been now of late to Calais on an embassy from the king to treat of peace, and had reported to the king of their said embassy. And the king must

¹ Walsingham, 344.

² *Id.* p. 343.

send a more formal embassy thither about Candlemas next to treat of a final peace, if it please God ; which thing he does not wish to do without the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the other sages of his council.

"And also the bishop of St. David's, Treasurer of England, the earl marshal, and others, have been on an embassy from the king to the marches of Scotland, to treat with the Scots of the truce concluded by them with the French. But the said Scots will not yet agree to the said truce. It seems better that the king should have war there than peace ; but the king does not wish to make nor undertake the war without the advice and assent of the lords and commons ; yet these envoys, or others, must be sent thither about the said Candlemas to re-open the negotiation with the Scots.

"And then he rehearsed the great charges and costs which were bound to be supplied, as well for the safeguard of the said march of Scotland, and of the land of Ireland, as of Calais, Brest, Cherbourg, and Guienne ; and also for negotiating the said treaties. It needed, he said, to take order in time for the war, in case neither a final peace, nor longer treaties, could be had. And the king could not bear nor supply all the charges and costs necessary for this purpose without the aid of his land ; and therefore he wishes to be counselled in this parliament, how the said charges and costs can best be borne and supplied, with the least loss and inconvenience to his people."

grants an aid,

The parliament sate for three weeks ; not much was done besides granting an aid. The dukes of York and Gloucester petitioned the king that he would grant them £1,000 a-piece which he had promised ;¹ on which the lords and commons pray that the royalties of the crown should not be harmed, but the king be as free as his predecessors.² They plainly were jealous that so much money should accumulate in the hands of the king's near kinsmen. The petition was granted, "sceming honest and reasonable to the king"; but the former petition was granted also. On March 3rd the parliament thanked the king for his good government, and his continual zeal for the good of

¹ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 278.

² Id. p. 279.

his people ; and the king thanked them for their liberal aids, and so dismissed them.¹ and is dissolved

Wykeham had mentioned the date of Candlemas, or the Purification, as that about which he recommended sending embassies both to France and Scotland. As a matter of fact, they were not sent so soon. The ambassadors to France were constituted on the 8th of April, 1391, and their instructions given them in the privy council of the 19th² and 28th April.³ They were not able to obtain more than a prolongation of the truce for a year ; but at the expiration of this time it was prolonged again and again. The instructions to the Scottish ambassador were issued in the council of the 27th May.⁴ The Scottish king, Robert II, the son of David Bruce, had died the year before ; he had been succeeded by his son, Robert III, who was a cripple, entirely under the influence of his brother Murdoch duke of Albany ; and the Scots had broken the truce. Now, however, they were glad of the opportunity of renewing it.

Embassies to France and Scotland.

On the 27th of September,⁵ Wykeham resigned his office. He very probably had stipulated, when he accepted it, that he should be allowed to resign as soon as he had fairly started the new constitutional system. If this were so, he claimed the king's promise to release him at a time when everyone would have acknowledged that he had been most successful. He was probably, at the moment, the most popular man in England. When he entered on the ministry, Richard, it was clear, contemplated a new departure of some kind ; Wykeham had bent that new departure into the beginning of constitutionalism. The king had hated and suspected the appellants and their party ; now, not only were all the appellants in the privy council, but

Wykeham resigns the chancellorship September, 1391.

¹ Rot. Parl. iii, p. 283.

² *Proc. of P. Council*, i, p. 19.

³ *Id.* p. 22.

⁴ *Id.* p. 27.

⁵ At Windsor, in the Painted Chambre.—Rym. cit. Walcott, p. 73.

Wykeham surrendered the Great Seal to Thomas Fitz-Alan, called Arundel, archbishop of York, the brother of his own old friend, Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel.

quel of his
islation.

Thus ends his public life; nor, except when the exigencies of a new reign compelled him to come forward as an old man, did he ever meddle in politics again. But he had now set the government on a footing upon which it could continue. The succeeding Chancellor carried on his designs of conciliation. The peace lasted unbrokenly. The legislation was mostly on ecclesiastical matters, and all in a nationalizing direction. Thus, the statute of Mortmain was amended and enlarged in 1391; and, in 1393, the statute of Provisors was safeguarded by that known by the name of *Præmunire*, which again did but follow the precedent set in 1353, and maintain the exclusive right of jurisdiction over English Church interests for English courts.

Had things gone on according to the precedents set in these years of Wykeham's administration, Richard's reign might have been long and prosperous. But the one cause of the sad tragedy which was now enacted was the instability of Richard's own character. In the last chapter, we shall see how speedily and how mournfully he came to the end which, like Rehoboam, deserting the counsels of his old friends for that of younger men, he was mad enough to draw upon himself.

CHAPTER XI.

WYKEHAM AS A BISHOP.

A.D. 1367—1404.

IF a bishop of the nineteenth century has many cares besides "the care of all the churches," this was even more the case with his predecessors of the middle ages. He still, besides holding his ecclesiastical position, is a peer of the realm, and as such has the right to sit and vote in the house of lords. But Wykeham, besides this state function, and the fact that he was occasionally an actual officer of the state, was the owner in fee-simple of many manors scattered throughout the south of England; the guardian to some extent of the commercial interests of his cathedral city; and the visitor of the conventual institutions therein. In this chapter we will contemplate him in these three capacities.

I. And first, as the owner of manors pertaining to the see.

It has already been mentioned that the bishop of Winchester was owner of sixteen manors. Of these ten were within his own diocese, six beyond its borders. At seven of the ten within his own diocese he was a constant visitor: indeed it was the regular custom for a bishop thus to travel from one to another of his houses within his diocese, and make that a centre for discharging his episcopal functions in the neighbourhood. The seven houses at one of which he was usually to be found were,—Wolvesey in Winchester,

Wykeham as
owner of
manors
pertaining to
the see.

Southwark near London, South Waltham, ~~Farnham~~, High Clere, Esher, and Marwell. Of these Wolvesey of course was the principal, though not the one which he visited the most frequently.

description of
Wolvesey
castle,

The grounds of Wolvesey castle immediately adjoined the Cathedral precinct on the east, and thus lay at the south-east angle of the city of Winchester. The bishop had manorial rights over the whole of the precinct as well as castle, and thus was in fact a co-ordinate authority with the city magistrates, owning more than a fourth part of the whole area enclosed within the city walls. To this we must add a large irregular suburb to the east and south called the Soke, which was also within his jurisdiction ; as suburbs both to the north, east, and west were within that of the city authorities.

The castle ground of Wolvesey itself was an irregular square, bounded on the south and east by the city wall, on the north by a wall running almost parallel to the southern wall, and on the west by a mill stream which was part of a system of irrigation for the lower parts of the city devised by bishop Athelwold ; and which, diverging to the south-west from the bridge over the Itchen at the bottom of the High street, feeds the mills of St. Mary's Abbey, Wykeham's college, and the suburban farmstead called De la Berton. In the middle of this enclosure lay the castle of Wolvesey, of which the ruins may yet be seen. It was built by bishop De Blois in 1138, and so strong are the outside walls that it is evident that originally they were part of the actual city walls, though those walls have in later times taken a wider sweep.

and episcopal
manor.

But this is but a small part of the episcopal manor. To the west of the mill stream lay the rest of it, the Cathedral precinct proper. Across that stream the southern wall was prolonged westward for nearly two hundred yards

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2.

3.

4.

Des
Wo
cast

and
man



to the Kingsgate ; and there the Close wall parted from the city wall, and ran parallel to it for almost two hundred yards further, to the corner of what was called Minster street, but now is known as Symonds' street ; thence for four hundred yards it ran in a north-north-westerly direction to the present Square ; after which it turned abruptly eastward, and ran as far again parallel to the High street, almost as far as Colebrook street : when it made a third corner and ran due north, so as almost to touch the east end of the Cathedral itself ; from which another two hundred yards in a north-easterly direction brought it to join the north wall of the Wolvesey ground at the Lock-pond. This large area was that of the episcopal manor ; and within this the bishop possessed the rights of a lord of the manor. But besides this his jurisdiction extended outside the city wall over the parishes of St. Michael and St. Swithun, with part of St. Faith's, St. Thomas's, and Chilcombe, the Vill of Milland, the parishes of St. Peter Cheesehill and St. John, and part of St. Bartholomew Hyde parish. This large suburb went, as part of it still goes, by the name of the Soke ; a name which, derived from *sac*, a participle of *sæcan*, "to seek," denoted first the right of investigation which the lord of the manor had, and secondly, the area within which that right was exercised. In the angle of the wall by the gate to the Close which stood near, but at right angles to the King's Gate, was the courthouse, called Cheyney Court, where the manorial business was transacted by the lord, or in his name. Here the bailiff of the Soke sate every Thursday, except red-letter days ; and besides this ordinary court, there were courts leet held twice a year, on the Thursdays after Easter Day, and after Michaelmas Day. There were two constables, one for the East and one for the West Soke, the latter of which lay to the south of the city ; and each

portion had three tythingmen or aldermen. The prison to which misdemeanants were committed was at the High street end of St. John's street, beyond the Soke bridge; and opposite it stood the Soke public stocks, often used as an alternative to imprisonment.

A complete counterpart to this was the manor of Taunton in Somersetshire, with its castle and its priory. The manor of Taunton was originally given to the see of Winchester by Frithswith, queen of Ethelheard, king of Wessex, in 737, and enriched by king Ethelwulf in 854. There was a castle¹ and a borough, which paid duty to each bishop of Winchester in succession, till they were torn away by Henry VIII, and sold for less than a thousand pounds. As lord of the manor of Taunton, Wykeham got king Richard to inspect and confirm a "record of the perambulation" of the borough, that is, to confirm its old bounds and limits² (4th February, 1386). There was also a priory of Augustinian canons founded by bishop Giffard of Winchester at the beginning of the twelfth century, of which his successors were always the patrons. We learn from his Register what were the relations of a patron to the priories under his care. In December, 1377, the officers and the canons regular of the priory appealed to him against the continuance in office of Walter Grateley, their prior.³ Wykeham persuaded him to retire voluntarily; and, on April 10th, 1378, "commended" John Kingsbury to be prior,⁴ writing to bishop Harewell of Bath and Wells that he had "appointed" Kingsbury prior of Taunton. Kingsbury died November 5th, 1391; the sub-prior sent to ask, in the name of the convent, for leave to choose another.⁵ On this being given, they chose Walter Cook, who was confirmed

Taunton castle
1 priory.

¹ Wykeham appointed Roger Dore constable of this castle in 1379. Reg. iii, 270.

² Brit. Mus. *Additional Charters*, 24, 881.

³ Reg. iii, 165.

⁴ Id. 166.

⁵ Id. 251.

by Wykeham, and commended for induction to bishop Harewell (November 27th). He also, on July 5th, 1389, appointed a vicar to the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen in Taunton,¹ thus caring for the spiritual needs of the inhabitants, and asserting the right to do so against the bishop of Bath and Wells.

Towards the priory of St. Swithun, in Winchester, the bishops of Winchester had a similar relation. The history of this priory, as far as it is ascertained to be genuine, is that a body of secular canons, under the rule of a dean, occupied the neighbourhood of the Cathedral for a hundred years before 964, when bishop Athelwold, a reformer like Dunstan, who had been raised to the see a year before, expelled them, and planted in their stead a body of Benedictine monks, under the rule of a prior; calling the establishment the Old Minster—in opposition to the New Minster once adjoining it, but now removed to Hyde—or the priory of St. Swithun. Thenceforward the bishops of Winchester exercised the right of confirming—on election by the brethren—and on occasion removing the priors; and themselves, according to the regular custom, which, however, was encroached on both by the king and the popes, were chosen by the prior and brethren in full conclave. When Wykeham was elected, Hugh Basing was prior: he died in 1384, and Dr. Robert Rudborne was chosen instead; and to him succeeded, in 1394, Dr. Thomas Neville, who was still prior when Wykeham died.

Priory of
St. Swithun,
Winchester.

Of course, the successive priors of St. Swithun's had to guard the rights of the priory against the bishops as against other men, and a certain amount of friction was engendered by the clashing of the interests of the two. Thus it had from time immemorial been customary that on each visit paid by the bishop to Wolvesey or any other

Disputes of
priors with
Wykeham.

¹ Reg. iii, 243.

residence in Winchester, the "domicellus" of the priory should present him with eight loaves in wastell baskets and one pint of wine, saying at the same time these words in French, "Monseigneur, Saint Pierre et Saint Paul vous envoient." Prior Basing first set the example of withholding some of the bread and wine ; and the new practice was followed in the next priorate, and for the first four years of prior Neville. But in 1398 Wykeham came to an agreement¹ with prior Neville whereby it was settled that the ancient amount should be offered, and accompanied with the old words, in French, Latin, or English. At the same time several other outstanding disputes were settled. The tenants on the estates of the two corporations were not to trespass on one another's lands ; the prior and the bishop were to halve the expense of keeping up the bridges over the Lock-pond and the mill stream outside the south wall, and those of Prior's Barton ; the monks are to abstain from hunting in and to repair the bishop's warren in Morestead ; and the prior is to do homage to the bishop for a holding in High Clere.

No part of his episcopal duties gave Wykeham greater concern than the proper regulation of this monastery. It would seem to have been in a bad condition at the beginning of his episcopate ; and, in spite of his strenuous efforts, it was not wholly amended at the time of his death.

Visitation of
priory, 1373.

His first visitation of it took place on June 13th, 1373. He writes from Southwark and cites "Our beloved spouse the Cathedral Church, and all the monks and brethren, and the chapter of the same Church, to appear to be visited on that day." We have no record of the result, and probably there was little hope of amendment while Basing was prior. But again, thirteen years later, shortly after Rudborne had succeeded, he cites them to a similar visitation to be held

¹ Reg. iii, 323.

on July 9th, 1386. On that day he was prevented from keeping his engagement "by divers businesses of the king and kingdom"; so he cited them again on the November 7th following, to appear on February 11th, 1387. The subject which engaged his attention was the lax condition of the monastery, and the neglect by the brethren of the rules of the order. Accordingly, a few days before (February 8th) he drew up a code of regulations, which he caused to be read to the assembled convent at his visitation, and required all to keep. In these he frequently refers to the information gained at his former visitation; and the insight thus given us¹ into the interior of a monastery is exceedingly curious.

and again 138
when he give
regulations

He had found them lax even about keeping the canonical hours, about frequency of celebrating mass, and confession before it, and keeping the rule of silence. He had found laxity about closing the cathedral doors, and that the monks were in the habit of talking to the townspeople who used the Slype gate to pass through the cloisters to and from the High street. The monks were very ignorant, and frequently did not understand what they read; they had forgotten the rule of the Benedictine order. They broke the rule of dining in common in the refectory, and that of giving dinner to the needy. They were in the habit of going into the country upon small excuse; they had a secular instead of a brother for cellarer, who was unmerciful to the poor; the brethren hunted and fished, and kept hounds; the number of monks had fallen from sixty to forty-six; the bread was bad, the beer thin,² and the other victuals unwholesome. The prior failed to render an account of his administration every half-year to the

to correct the
gross irregu-
larities he ha:
found.

¹ MS. New Coll.

² This was caused by the neglect of the prior, who provided the bread and beer. *Consuetudinary of Refectory, St. Swithun's priory*, 1; edited by Dean Kitchin.

assembled convent. The private monks took rent of the churches and manors, yet their very places were falling into disrepair. The payment of pensions, corrodies, etc., which the convent had contracted to make, diminished the funds for charity. Offices were accumulated on the same person; the chantries were neglected, because the priests were unpaid; the almoner did not distribute all the fragments left from the prior's hall and refectory.¹ The sub-prior neglected the sick, and the chambers in the infirmary were frequently bespoken privately, and not allowed to be common to all. There was partiality in awarding punishments. Both brethren and the hospital sisters dressed too expensively; the sisters in Calabrian furs and such like, the brothers in silk belts, gold and silver ornaments, etc. Lights were not duly placed at night all round the premises, but were taken away as dangerous, instead of being looked after. Old customs as to pittances, etc., on feast days were neglected. The prior neglected to change the chaplain after one year's service.

These were heavy grounds of complaint: but to each of these Wykeham addressed himself, ordering the remedy for each, and that it should be applied under pain of appropriate penalties. These penalties are curious, as giving us the scale of the enormity assigned to the various offences. The heavier penalty of all was the major excommunication,² which was assigned to the neglect of divine service on the plea of other duties. The next was deposition, or removal from the office the offender had abused: such was reserved for ten of the above offences. Whipping was one penalty for infraction of the rule of silence. The next was to put

¹ *Consuetudinary of Refectory, St. Swithun's priory*, p. 9.

² "By this the offender was debarred, not only from the Eucharist, but from taking part in all religious acts in any assembly of the Church, and from the company of the faithful in the ordinary concerns of life."—*Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Excommunication," i, p. 113.

the offender on bread and water, either for a year (this was the penalty for appropriating the rents to private use), or till the prior thought fit to release him (this for not confessing before Mass). The most common and the lightest was a diet of bread, beer, and beans, either for the next six week-days, or twice a week for a month, or the next Wednesday and Friday, or the next Wednesday only.

We have no means of knowing how these severe regulations were kept : but as to the number of the monks, we do know that the efforts to raise it were unavailing. It still stood at forty-six in 1393, when Wykeham held his next visitation ; and though he then made it one of the principal subjects on which he insisted, it had still further fallen to forty-two at the time of his death nine years later.

Number of monks diminishing.

The other subject of his inquiry in 1393 was the repair of the fabric of the Cathedral. We have already seen that something was being done towards this in 1371, not four years after Wykeham's accession, when he speaks in his Register of the theft of "stones hewn and unhewn, chalk and cement for the new work of our Church aforesaid, which were prepared at great expense for the purpose of making good the building." The extent of this work of repair we do not know. But it seems unreasonable to suppose that Wykeham would have let the principal Church of his diocese be so dilapidated, without doing anything to remedy it, for more than a quarter of a century after he had come to the episcopate ; when he had during that time expended an untold amount of money on his two colleges at Oxford and Winchester.

Cathedral wants repair.

II. We are next to speak of Wykeham as the guardian of the commercial interests of the city of Winchester.

Wykeham as guardian of commerce of Winchester.

A mediæval bishop was accustomed to interfere more with the worldly concerns of his neighbours than would be thought right now. They were the people committed to

his charge—his “subjects,” as Wykeham calls the citizens of Winchester in his Register. He was careful to look after the health of their souls ; and very curious examples of this are to be found in his Register. One deed¹ is a mandate to barbers and hairdressers, telling them not to “wash, shave, or cut” hair on Sundays. Another² tells the “parishioners of his archdeaconries, and particularly shoemakers making new shoes, and others of the same trade or of a lower grade of workmanship who mend shoes,” to abstain from plying their trade on Sundays and feast days, and to shut up their shops ; and requires the rectors of his archdeaconries to warn shoemakers of either grade, and their apprentices, not to do so.

guardian of St.
Giles' Fair.

But the chief reason of his authority lay in his position of guardian of the annual St. Giles' Fair. By a grant of William Rufus to Bishop Walkelin³ a fair was held each year on St. Giles' day (September 1st) and the two next days, on St. Giles' Hill, the steep escarped hill which rises abruptly above the Itchen to the east of Winchester. Henry I extended the three days to eight, during three of which the profits of the fair were to be given to Hyde Abbey, the “New Minster” having recently been transferred to Hyde. Stephen prolonged the fair-time to fourteen days ; Henry II to sixteen. By this time the fair had become one of the best known in Europe, and as it was held on land within the manor of the Soken, it was under the bishop's jurisdiction. All the ground⁴ about St. Giles' chapel, and from thence to the brow of the hill, was densely covered with booths—some permanent, some only temporary—laid out in rows or streets, called, after the different wares sold in them, the Goldsmithry, the Drapery,

¹ Reg. iii, 253.

² Id., ib., and cf. 329.

³ Charter of Edward III for St. Giles' Fair (*Winchester Cathedral Records*, No. 2), p. 14.

⁴ Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, ii, p. 55. Milner, ii, 229. H. of H. i, pp. 291, 292.

Spice street,¹ Wool street, Wheelers' street, etc., or according to the places represented: Fleming street, Caen street, Cornwall street. On the eve of St. Giles' day the mayor delivered up the keys of the city gates to an "usher" appointed by the bishop, who received toll on all merchandise brought up for sale in the bishop's name. He sat to try cases in dispute in the "pavilion,"² and determined them according to a special code preserved in a "Consuetudinary" of the fair.³ During the days the fair lasted all the shops in the city were closed, and in every place within seven leagues or twenty-one miles of the city—an ordinance which must have suspended trade for the time in every town in Hampshire. The bishop strictly forbade the traders to linger beyond the sixteenth day, as they were much inclined to do. The woods by which Winchester is surrounded were guarded by horsemen, for protection of the numerous caravans of merchandize against the robbers who were attracted by them.

The attraction of these fairs no doubt kept up the trade of Winchester for a time. But it was already on the decline. It had ceased long since to be the royal city, but exclusive privileges had been given to it over and over again by the kings, and in the year 1337 King Edward III established here one of his ten great staples for the sale of wool, wool-fells, and leather. For a short time Winchester prospered, and a large piece of ground in the western quarter of the city was laid out⁴ by the enterprise of the citizens in the requisite manufactories. But after twenty-six years of prosperity (in 1363), the right of staple was removed from all these ten English towns and fixed at

¹ Bk. of Winchester Charters, p. 11.

² See the appointment of John Combe as perpetual usher of the pavilion in St. Giles' fair.—Reg. iii, 260.

³ Reg. Pontissara, f. 201 (cit. Hist. of Hampsh.).

⁴ H. of H., i, p. 289. Still known as Staple Garden.

Calais only ; and from that day the trade of Winchester declined. The great fair, however, kept up its popularity for a time, until, in the reign of Henry II, even the fair itself went out of fashion, and ceased to be the annual gala-time for the south of England.

Religious
houses in
Winchester.

III. We will next say something of Wykeham's dealings with the different religious houses in the city of Winchester and through the diocese.

Hyde Abbey.

I. Of the first of these, the priory of St. Swithun, we have already spoken above. The next for consideration is Hyde abbey, once the New Monastery of Winchester. The New Monastery or Minster had been founded by Grimbold,¹ carrying out thus a long-cherished design of king Alfred, about the year 900, for Augustinian canons, on a piece of ground nearly adjoining the older Monastery of the Cathedral Church of St. Swithun. The Augustinian canons had been reformed into Benedictine monks in 965; and the abbey had been ruthlessly plundered, first by the Conqueror, and then by his nephew, bishop Henry de Blois. But between these two dates the monks, finding themselves still further straitened as to their site by the building of the Conqueror's palace, in 1110 had moved their buildings into a meadow to the north-west of Winchester, called Hyde-Mead, from the Hyde-Bourne, a small affluent of the Itchen. Here for four centuries Hyde abbey existed, and for a time flourished ; but learning, to which, according to the original design of Alfred, it was to have been devoted, was never much attended to within its walls. For the first thirteen years of Wykeham's episcopate Thomas Pechy was the abbot ; he dying in 1380, was succeeded by John Eynsham, who, on January 21st, 1381, took the oaths of obedience and fidelity to Wykeham.² Five years after Wykeham addressed to him a letter, to be

¹ Liber de Hyda, Intr. xxiii (Rolls Series).

² Reg. i, 113.

found in his Register.¹ It tells him that there are certain chapelries belonging to the Church of Micheldever (in the possession of Hyde abbey) of which the revenues have been diverted from their rightful owner the chaplain, and exhorts him to restore them to him.

In 1390 (April 3rd), the new pope Boniface IX sent to Wykeham a bull commanding him to confer upon the abbot of Hyde a mitre and a pastoral staff.² This he accordingly did, and the abbot of Hyde took rank with the mitred abbots who had the right of attending the parliaments; thus actually taking precedence of the prior of St. Swithun's, who, though also mitred, was only a prior.

Abbot Eynsham died July 3rd, 1394,³ and was succeeded by John Letcombe, who was still living when Wykeham died.

2. Another religious foundation coëval with the last was the abbey of St. Mary, or "Nunnaminster," as it was called, founded by Ealhswith the queen of Alfred for nuns, but not completed or consecrated till the reign of her son, Edward the Elder. The building, which lay between High street and Colebrook street, in very extensive grounds, are said to have been destroyed in Stephen's siege of Winchester; if so, they were rebuilt, for the monastery certainly was a flourishing institution later. For the first eighteen years of Wykeham's episcopate, the abbess was Alice Mare, who had succeeded in 1365; she died in 1385, and Joan Deymede was elected instead.⁴ The ruins of the abbey have since totally disappeared; only a house and a lane are known by the names of Abbey house and Abbey passage.

St. Mary's
Abbey.

3. We have already had occasion to mention St. Elizabeth's Chapel,⁵ which adjoined Wykeham's college to

St. Elizabeth
Chapel.

¹ Reg. iii, 226. ² Id. 249. ³ Reg. i. 334. ⁴ H. of H. i, p. 313.

⁵ Commonly called St. Elizabeth's College; but its title in Reg. iii, 32, 79, 231, 327, is only "Capella Sanctæ Elizabethæ." Later, however, it was called a "College" and a "Hospital."

the cast. It had been founded by bishop John of Pontoise in 1301, for a provost, six priest-chaplains, six clerks, and six choristers.¹ Its founder had endowed it with the revenues of Hursley parish Church; but bishop Edington had wanted the rectory house at Hursley to reside in when his duty called him to those parts, and the provost and chaplains had made it over to him again. Wykeham, when he came to be bishop, did not want it like his predecessor, and conveyed it once more to St. Elizabeth's, on the assignment of a mark yearly to him and his successors for the same.² John Shepton was the provost with whom this arrangement was made (1372); he was succeeded by Thomas Boys, who died in June, 1387.³ But towards the end of Wykeham's life (September 1st, 1400), certain irregularities drew upon the establishment a visitation from John Elmer, the bishop's officary, and Simon Membury, the treasurer at Wolvesey, whom the bishop authorized to examine and canonically punish, if necessary, the authors of certain crimes and excesses, and examine the provost's accounts, and his inventory of the goods of the Chapel.⁴ It seems as if something had been going on—what, we know not—besides the regular service of prayer, for which the Chapel was founded.

Houses of
Friars.

4. Besides these, there were the Friars' Houses, which the later part of the thirteenth century had seen established in every Cathedral city in England. Winchester had all the four different kinds of them. The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, had their establishment between the Lower and Middle Brooks; the Dominicans, or Black Friars, at East-gate; the Augustinians, also Black, outside the South gate; the Carmelites, or White Friars, beyond the old wall in the college meads. The Order of Friars Preachers had also

¹ H. of H. i, p. 314.

² Reg. iii, 79.

³ Id. 231.

⁴ Id. 327.

chosen Wykeham the conservator of their privileges in England.¹

As a pendant to this chapter we must record Wykeham's dealings with the priory of Selborne. This was a priory of fourteen Augustinian or Black Canons, which had been founded by bishop des Roches in 1233. To this priory Wykeham was bound by peculiar ties, of what nature we can only conjecture. In 1377,² the year in which a new prior John Weston succeeded John Winton, Wykeham out of mere goodwill and liberality discharged all the debts of the prior and convent, paying for that purpose £73. 19s. 10d. But in ten years the debts had grievously accumulated again, and in 1387³ he visited the convent in person, and observing that each time that he had visited it before he had found heavy fault with it, imposed a set of rules to correct its irregularities. These rules are for the most part identical with those which he imposed the same year on the monks of St. Swithun's priory at Winchester, but a few are peculiar to the canons of Selborne. Thus the number is to be raised from 11, to which they have sunk, to the original number of 14. They are never to sleep naked, but to be decently clothed at night. They are never to stand godfathers to any boy. They are not to appear in public wearing gaiters of brown cloth or stockings.⁴ They are never to perform the Occasional Offices for those that seek them, without license from the parish priest; they are to be cleanly and decent in regard of their sacred furniture; they are to recall all relics of saints, Church plate, vestments, and books lent out on pawn, and not to part with them again; and to frequent their cloisters for the purpose of reading and meditation.

Priory of
Selborne.

¹ Reg. iii, 186, 203.

² White's *Selborne*, Harting's edition, p. 467.

³ *Notabilis visitatio de Selborne*, Id. pp. 458—467.

⁴ "Caligas de burneto vel sotularia."

But fourteen years after the convent was again in grievous debt. Wykeham, therefore, on the 7th of May, 1401, made them a present of 100 marks, or £66. 13s. 4d. : which prior Weston acknowledged the same day as an act of liberal almsgiving, and for which he promised that two canons of the priory should for the space of ten years say masses daily for bishop Wykeham, or for the repose of his soul when he died.¹

One thing more should be added here, as it presumably relates to Wykeham's government of his diocese.

Wykeham
and of
exchanging
clergy.

In the first part of his register, as has been mentioned, are contained all the institutions to benefices which he made during his long reign. Of these institutions, which number many hundred, the most frequent cause is exchange. The rector of one church exchanges with the rector of another ; and quite the most usual reason for applying for institution was that the man had been appointed *per viam permutationis*. We meet with cases where the same Church changes hands eight or nine times during Wykeham's episcopate of forty-seven years. Surely this points to a principle of his administration ; that of changing his parochial clergy every five or six years, and passing them on to other benefices. This is not the place to discuss the merits of this system. That it must have had great advantages all will allow ; and it was comparatively easy to shift unmarried men thus from place to place.

Improves roads
and bridges.

Nothing seems to have struck Wykeham's contemporaries more than his efforts for the temporal well-being of the "subjects" of his diocese ; and among these, his improvement of the roads in Hampshire and Surrey, and his re-building of bridges. Heath reckons among his bene-

¹ Reg. iii. 334. The "soul of Roger Gervays" is coupled with the name of Wykeham in the promises of prayer. Cf. Andrew Gervase or Jervis, for whom Wykeham asks prayers at Winchester, p. 208, n. 3.

factions to his diocese, his "mending muddy roads and broken and unsafe bridges."¹ And Aylward tells us that "he had a kindly compassion for travellers: for between Winchester and London, and elsewhere in very many places, he caused the muddy, wet, and filthy roads to be cleaned, heightened and repaired for human feet. . . . A traveller, who before walked through difficult ways in these places, now might gratefully say of him, 'He made a way for my feet.'"²

¹ Heath, 13.² Aylward, 5.

CHAPTER XII.

WYKEHAM'S LAST YEARS.

A.D. 1394—1404.

Wykeham
twenty years
old.

WYKEHAM had now reached the full age of three-score years and ten : an age when most men shrink from new undertakings. Yet he began a considerable architectural work, the renovation of the nave of his Cathedral, after he became a septuagenarian. And the ten years which he lived after this date were fruitful in the sad events which completed the strange tragedy of the life and reign of Richard II. Until quite the end of this monarch's reign, Wykeham did not come forward, or take any part in public life : yet we must not omit a slight sketch of those events which so powerfully affected, and must have so sadly interested, one who had been the intimate friend both of his grandfather and his father.

the king
miliates
rundel,

The king during the years which followed Wykeham's second administration appears to have slowly and patiently pursued one end : that of crushing in detail the party that had destroyed his friends in 1388. For this end he had first secured the friendship of duke John of Lancaster, and then he had detached the earls of Derby and Nottingham from the following of duke Thomas of Gloucester. Events fell in with his wishes. A revolt in Cheshire had been put down by duke John in 1393 ; this the duke in the next year's parliament accused the earl of Arundel of having fostered. Arundel replied by complaining of the exclusive

favour shown to Lancaster by the king. The king insisted on an apology ; Arundel yielded, and was pardoned. Thus, one of the three—Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick—whom the king was bent on crushing as having been the others who made up, with Derby and Nottingham, the five original appellants, was humiliated before the nation.

The chief of the three, Gloucester, was at this moment the popular champion of the French war. The war with France had closed with the truce for three years of August, 1389, with which Wykeham's administration had begun ; but this itself had followed immediately upon Arundel's successes in the naval campaign of the spring of that year. Thenceforth the triumvirate were in favour of renewing the war, and rivalling the glories of Edward III's reign. Not so Lancaster, who had just accepted the duchy of Guienne from the king : and the king himself was wisely in favour of peace. Consequently, in May, 1394, a truce was concluded for four years, much against the popular feeling.

and disgusts
the nation by
renewing the
truce with
France.

On June 7th, 1394, queen Anne died at Sheen.¹ We have already noticed how strangely the death of the king's grandmother, queen Philippa, coincided with the decay of the brilliant powers of Edward III. Queen Anne also appears to have exercised a very real restraint on Richard II, and the removal of her influence was disastrously felt in the sequel by the whole kingdom. At her funeral, the king quarrelled with the earl of Arundel, and actually struck him so as to draw blood within the precincts of Westminster Abbey. Lancaster, York, and Derby, lost their wives about the same time, and the same year saw four royal widowers. But none of them remained widowers long. Lancaster married Catherine Swynford, the mother of his Beaufort sons, and gave great offence to Gloucester and York by so doing. The death of Derby's wife broke

Death of que
Anne, 1394 ;

¹ Wykeham desires prayers for her soul.—Reg. iii, 276.

the king
marries Isabella
of France,
1396.

the tie which had bound him to Gloucester, for their wives had been sisters. And when in November, 1396, the king married Isabella of France, and concluded a truce for twenty-five years, Gloucester's disgust culminated, and the French alliance became as unpopular as the French peace.

king seizes
Arundel,
Warwick, and
Gloucester.

Richard a few months before had translated archbishop Arundel from York to Canterbury, and the pope had employed Wykeham to give him the pall.¹ It was the last sign of favour that he bestowed on any one of the popular party, and it is difficult to see the king's design in it. It might almost seem as if he did not identify Thomas Fitz-Alan with the policy of his brother the earl; but if so he was mistaken in his man. And after his French marriage his plans ripened fast. Duke Thomas reproached him at the council-board for tamely surrendering Brest and Cherbourg, and withdrew into the country, followed by the Earl of Arundel. And now the king determined to strike. By the advice of eight of his friends, headed by Nottingham, he laid an ambush for them on July 8th, and thus caught Arundel and Warwick. Gloucester he seized in person the same day at Pleshy, and sent him in custody to Calais. On August 5th it was settled that the triumvirate—Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick—should be in their turn appealed of treason for the lawless acts of 1388, by the same eight lords who had advised their arrest. Foremost among them was Nottingham, himself one of the five appellants on that former occasion, and inseparably mixed in all the lawless acts which he now denounced. The rest were Rutland and Somerset, the sons of York and Lancaster; Kent and Huntingdon, the king's half brothers; lords Salisbury and Despencer, and Sir William Scrope.

It should be noticed that in this arrest neither duke

¹ Hook, iv, p. 432.

John of Lancaster, nor his son Henry of Derby, took any part. Lancaster himself, perhaps, was too nearly of kin to his brother Gloucester to make it safe that he should be trusted with the secret ; and this makes it the more possible that Gloucester's death was determined on from the first. As to Derby, his position must have been one of singular Derby uneasy uneasiness. He had been one of the first appellants, the only other besides the three who were now being accused, and Nottingham their most forward accuser. He may well have been disquieted as to his own foothold in the king's favour ; and we cannot blame him for relying much on his great popularity with the Londoners, to whom he had greatly endeared himself.

Others, besides Derby, must have been uneasy also. and Wykeham Who could tell that the king's vengeance would be satisfied when he had struck at the first appellants ? that he would not visit the commissioners of his household also ? Six out of the eleven who had accepted seats on that commission in 1386 were still alive. Gloucester and Arundel, who were now in prison, were two of them, York was a third, lords Cobham and Scrope of Bolton were two more, the sixth was Wykeham himself. Wykeham, it is true, had taken no part (that we can discover) in the obnoxious proceedings of the commission ; he had since been a Chancellor, and favoured by the king. But in the chancellorship itself he had risked a good deal by his attempt to reconcile the king with all the unfortunate three who were now to be his victims ; and he could not get rid of the fact of having accepted the office of a commissioner. It was under these circumstances that the king, always greedy of loans, determined to make him feel his advantage over him, and demanded (August 10th) a loan of £1,000 from the bishop of Winchester. Wykeham was

known to be a wealthy man ; it was not safe to refuse, and the sum apparently was promptly paid.

Parliament
Sept., 1397 ;

Meanwhile, the king had issued the writs convening his parliament for the 17th of September. It met on that day in a thoroughly subservient frame of mind. On the 20th, it repealed the statute establishing the commission of 1386, and the pardons which had been granted to the three imprisoned lords ; and the same day the archbishop was impeached and found guilty by the commons. On the 21st, the new appellants formally accused Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick. In Gloucester's absence, Arundel was tried first. He persisted in his refusal to confess, and was beheaded the same day. On the 24th, Nottingham stated that the duke of Gloucester could not be produced, as he had died in prison at Calais. On the 28th, Warwick was tried ; but he made a confession implicating Gloucester, and was sentenced to be imprisoned for life in the Isle of Man. On the same day, the king pardoned the other three who had been commissioners—Yorke, Scrope, and Wykeham. On the 29th, he wound up his revengeful proceedings by giving a step in the peerage to seven of the eight who had acted as appellants—the eighth, the earl of Salisbury, was dead—and conferred besides the dukedom of Hereford on Derby, and the earldom of Westmoreland on lord Neville. Then, he adjourned the parliament to meet again at Shrewsbury on January 28th, 1398 ; where, in a three days' session, it confirmed the king in a power too absolute to be stable.

King pardons
Wykeham.

Parliament
adjourned to
Shrewsbury,
398.

Richard now seemed to have triumphed over all his enemies. But in reality he was surely preparing for himself the Nemesis which was to overtake him in a few months. The end had actually begun in the banishment of archbishop Arundel. Arundel retired to Rome, whither Richard sent after him a request to the pope to translate

Arundel at
Rome.

him to some other see. This the pope did, and appointed Roger Walden to the vacant see of Canterbury, desiring Wykeham to deliver him the pall.¹ Thus irretrievably the king made an enemy of the man who proved the next year to be the leading conspirator against his throne.

Meanwhile, Norfolk—as Nottingham was now called—and Hereford had quarrelled. Norfolk had expressed himself unguardedly in a conversation which was meant to be private, but which came to the ears of the king. The king bade Hereford state before parliament what Norfolk had said. Hereford asserted that he had accused the king of conspiring to “undo” them both, as well as his father, the duke of Lancaster, and three other lords, for their share in the rebellion of 1388. The assertion may well have been true; Norfolk and Hereford, the only two appellants left, must have been dismayed to think that the king’s vindictiveness would surely pursue his old enemies, when he had done making use of them. But Norfolk gave Hereford the lie, and offered to do battle with him thereon. The challenge was accepted, and the lists were prepared at Coventry in September. But Richard saw his opportunity to get rid of them both. He stopped the combat, and banished them both. The sentence on Norfolk was vindictive, considering that he had been the chief instrument in Gloucester’s ruin. He was banished for life, and all his estates forfeited to the king. With Hereford, he did not deal so hardly. Perhaps Richard thought he might yet be useful, and put off his extermination till a later opportunity. His exile was to last ten years only; the king sent him at Calais a present of a thousand marks. But when, the next February (1399), duke John of

Quarrel
between
Norfolk and
Hereford :

both banished
Sept., 1398.

¹ On 17th February, 1398, at High Clere, Wykeham delivered the pall to Roger Walden in obedience to the pope’s bull, making him take an oath (dictated by pope Boniface) against the anti-pope. Reg. iii, 300.

Arundel meets
Henry of
Lancaster in
Paris.

Lancaster died, Richard persuaded the parliament to declare that Henry's banishment precluded him from inheriting the title; nay, that even his patent as duke of Hereford had been illegally procured, and, therefore, was forfeited. This filled the cup of the wrath of the people, especially the Londoners, and consultations were held as to the propriety of recalling him. Archbishop Arundel came from Cologne to Paris in disguise, on purpose to see him, and persuade him to attempt his restitution by force.

Wykeham
engaged in
political
business.

This (May) was the moment chosen by the infatuated Richard for visiting Ireland to avenge the death of the earl of March. This, too, was the moment chosen by Wykeham for the appointment of a suffragan, Henry Twillow, bishop of Ennachdun, to perform all ecclesiastical acts within his diocese for six months; saying that he himself was "so occupied with the affairs of the king and kingdom as to be unable to bestow time on the pastoral care of his diocese."

What did he mean? We know of no public appointment which Wykeham had undertaken: and yet these words, and their coincidence with the king's departure, must mean that the bishop was deeply engaged during these weeks with something political. Its nature we cannot guess; but Wykeham repeats the same phrase in publishing (14th May), for signature by all the ecclesiastics of his diocese, a schedule of an oath which the king had insisted on their taking, of obedience to the statutes and ordinances of the late obsequious parliament of Shrewsbury.¹

It is possible that Wykeham by this time anticipated what was so speedily coming; though to what extent he was in the secret of it of course we shall never know. He remained at Esher till the end of May; for June he went

¹ Reg. iii, 312. Given at length in Lowth's Appendix, No. XIV.

to Southwark; and retired for the next three months to Farnham. Let it be remembered that Wykeham went in fear of his life at this time; that this was no less anxious a crisis for him than the last few months of the last reign, that of Edward III: for had Richard succeeded in crushing the Lancaster rebellion, he would at once have proceeded (as Wykeham doubtless took for granted, and as was too probable) to crush the survivors of those who had been arrayed against him as commissioners.

Meanwhile duke Henry and archbishop Arundel hastened to take advantage of the infatuated king's absence in Ireland. On July 4th they landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and were at once joined by the powerful earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. They left Ravenspur with forty men; they appeared before London with 60,000 men, Henry protesting that he only came to claim his rightful inheritance of Lancaster. Richard landed in Wales on August 9th, was trepanned and captured by Northumberland on the 18th, and brought the next day into the presence of Henry, at Flint, who promised to help him govern better.

Henry and
Arundel land
at Ravenspur
July.

Richard
captured,
August,

That same day (August 19th) writs were issued calling a parliament for September 30th; and in the next fortnight the unfortunate king was brought to London, and lodged in the Tower. That his deposition had now been resolved on is shown by the fact that other writs were prepared, it is said by duke Edmund of York's advice, to run in the name of the new king Henry, and to be issued the same day on which king Richard should have been deposed.¹

When matters had gone thus far, Wykeham, in spite of age and infirmity, thought it very important that he should appear in his place in parliament. Accordingly, he came to Southwark, and was present at Westminster² on

¹ Stubbs ii, 503.

² Rot. Parl. iii, 416.

and abdicates
September.

September 30th, where Richard's voluntary resignation was read, and accepted by all present. Seven commissioners were appointed to bear the news to him in the Tower. One of them, Sir William Thirning, there addressed the fallen man, and told him of his deposition. He answered meekly, that "after all this he hoped that his cousin would be good lord to him."

After this Wykeham appears not to have attended at Westminster, though he was still residing at Southwark. All anxiety for his own safety was quenched by that one act of supreme justice which had been enacted on the last day of September: and no doubt he felt a tenderness for the man whom he had once loved, and whose father and grandfather had been so attached to him. He was not present among the lords to whom the new king addressed the enquiry what should be done with Richard, and who recommended that he "be kept safely, in a secret place, guarded by sure and sufficient persons"; nor when Henry came to the house, and, after consultation, sentenced Richard to be kept for life in the manner recommended by the lords.

Rumours of
his death.

Wykeham was twice present at the new king's privy council in the course of the December following, and once in the following February,¹ 1400. By this time rumours were circulating freely that the unfortunate Richard was dead; and the privy councillors (among whom Wykeham was not present) resolved that "if Richard, the late king, be alive, as some suppose he is, it be ordered that he be well and surely guarded, for the salvation of the king and of his kingdom." A few days after they resolved again, "that it is necessary to speak to the king, that in case Richard, the late king, be still living, he be placed in

¹ On December 4th, and 8th, and on February 9th.—*Proc. of P. C.* i, 100, 101, 105.

surety agreeable to the lords of the realm,"—referring no doubt to the lord's resolution of the October 23rd previous—"but if he be dead, that then he be openly shown to the people, that they may have knowledge thereof."¹

Whether he was dead at this time will probably never be certainly known: but a few days after the king sent a message to Pontefract (where Richard was detained) upon his secret affairs; another came thence to announce something to the king's advantage; and on February 17th a hundred marks were given to the keeper of the wardrobe for the conveyance of the late king's body to London.² There it was "shown openly to the people," as the privy council had recommended, on March 12th, in St. Paul's Cathedral,³ the emaciated face exposed from the eyebrows to the chin. Whether his death had been in any way hastened will probably always be a matter of doubt. Its opportuneness will always breed a suspicion. The king certainly had reason to desire his death, that it might check the risings in his favour, one of which had just taken place and been quelled; but it must be remembered that Henry, on this view, deliberately chose to face the obloquy which was certain to fasten on him the crime of murder to support his usurpation of the throne.

His body
shown at
St. Paul's,
March, 1400.

And now, having brought this long tragedy to its conclusion, let us turn back and gather up the other threads of Wykeham's life till this time of the succession of the Lancaster dynasty.

Wykeham's health had apparently been failing him since 1391. For early in that year, which was his sixty-seventh year, he wrote to pope Boniface IX stating that he was "weighed down with age and bodily ill-health," and asking for license to appoint a coadjutor or coadjutors from

Wykeham
ailing since
1391.

¹ *Proc. of P. C.* i, p. 111.

² Lingard iii, p. 411 n.

³ *Id.* p. 412.

time to time, and power to remove them and substitute others, without previous consultation with the archbishop of Canterbury or the chapter of Winchester. This license the pope granted¹ in a bull dated July 22nd, 1391, which Wykeham kept for future use, and had no occasion to use for ten years more.

In February, 1393, he was ailing at Marwell, and sent an excuse to convocation, saying that he was hindered from coming by "bodily ailment." But he had so far recovered by the 1st of March as to be able to ordain in person at Farnham.² In September, 1395, he was evidently known to be in ill-health; for the king refers at that date, in granting the charter to Winchester College, to "the costly and unwearied labours" he has undertaken "to the great detriment of his own health."³ In October, 1397, he excuses himself again for non-attendance upon convocation as being ill; and again on the parliament at Shrewsbury, in January, 1398.

Such was the state of his health, when in 1393 his fourth visitation of St. Swithun's priory at Winchester disclosed the fact that the Cathedral Church grievously needed repair. Wykeham ordered that it should be repaired, and that the cost should be met by the prior's paying £100 a year, and the sub-prior and convent 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.) for the next seven years. This charge upon the convent and its officers appears to have led to some delay;⁴ while Wykeham was revolving in his mind an adventurous design. He had just completed the works at

orders repairs
Cathedral,
1393.

¹ Reg. iii. 352.

² Lowth, p. 273. To this occasion he refers an account of 12s. 10d. for medicine sent from Oxford to Winchester.—*New College Computus Rolls*.

³ Kirby, p. 37.

⁴ In the Winchester Cathedral Records (iii, p. 8) there is a MS. circular letter of Wykeham's to all abbots, priors, and other clergy, directing them to collect the alms of the faithful for the repair of the Cathedral, with the promise of a grant of indulgence for 40 days to each contributor. Dated 16th December, 1393.

the neighbouring college. What he had in mind was to devote the last years of his life to the decoration of his Cathedral, by transforming its nave into the perpendicular style which was now fashionable; and to undertake the cost of the whole himself, excusing the prior and convent their contributions towards the work.

Resolves to undertake them himself

It was doubtless a bold thing for a septuagenarian to undertake a work so extensive as this promised to be. It is true that, if he died, he might look forward to his executors completing the portion of the work in which they were at the time engaged according to his orders; but to have conceived the idea of such a vast work at all shows an energy of mind that we should hardly expect from one who had already passed the allotted "threescore years and ten" of man's life.

As an architect, Wykeham had at first employed the "decorated" forms which were everywhere in use when he was a young man. This must have been the style imparted to him by his architectural masters; and of this style the key-form is the equilateral triangle. Its graceful arches, its clustered columns, its slender windows, are so harmonious to the eye, because all based on that simplest, yet most complete, of figures. Had Wykeham built churches alone, this style might have sufficed him. But he was widely employed upon secular buildings in his youth, such as dwelling houses and military castles; and he always readily admitted improvements for practical use. Hence he came to employ habitually the four-centred, or depressed arch, which is now known as perpendicular; especially in domestic buildings, and where a superincumbent floor made depression in the arch desirable. Besides this, there was the tendency to display painted glass, the art of making which had reached a high perfection. This caused the windows, first to be widened, beyond the proportion to their height

History of Wykeham's architecture.

which would have been allowed in decorated windows; and secondly to be multiplied, till a wall came to be pierced at short intervals by windows, and to display as much glass as stone. The change led to a modification in the construction of the stone framework of the windows themselves; and the long "perpendicular" mullions extending the whole height of the window, fortified by transoms which bonded the mullions together, and sub-divided the whole into so many picture frames, gave a name to the new style, which Wykeham was among the first to employ. Thus he was among the first to encourage the idea which looks on a series of windows as a picture gallery,

"richly peint
With lives of many divers seint:"¹

—as sang his contemporary Chaucer.

His noblest works in architecture are his two colleges; and of these the later, Winchester College, perhaps bears the palm, from its felicitous construction, its unpretentious adaptation to useful purposes, and the variety of resource displayed in fitting the different parts together.

But now Wykeham had finished his colleges, and was contemplating a bolder, if more hazardous, scheme. He desired, instead of simply repairing the Norman architecture of bishop de Lucy in the Cathedral nave, to reduce it to conformity with the style at present in use. Some will condemn the attempt as a failure which deserved to fail, as it swept away so many of the historical features in our architecture. Some will rather judge that the genius, which could strike out so bold a rival to the earlier style, redeems the rashness which made so adventurous an attempt.

Bishop Edingdon had, as has already been stated, done some of the work of repair at the extreme western end of

¹ "Chaucer's Dream," 1347.

the Church. "The whole of the west front of the present nave, together with two windows and the three buttresses that belong to them on the north side of the north aisle, and also one window on the south side of the south aisle,"¹ show a great difference from the rest of the nave, which is undoubtedly the work of Wykeham, and therefore are attributable to bishop Edingdon. Wykeham had to begin his work, therefore, with the third window to the west of the south aisle; and all the rest of the windows on both sides, as well as the whole work of the interior, were left to be done by him.

To this end he made an agreement with the prior and convent of St. Swithun's, that he would take the whole of the expense of the work on himself, provided they (1) found all the scaffolding necessary or convenient for the work; (2) permitted lime or sand to be taken from any of the convent lands; and (3) gave leave for the using of the old material of the Church in the new building.² All this being settled, he began the work on the Wednesday following All Saint's Day, 1394, under the direction of William Winford as architect, Simon Membury as surveyor and paymaster on the part of the bishop,³ and John Wayte as surveyor and controller on the part of the convent.

He began his work on the south side of the nave, and at the west end of it, in the immediate neighbourhood of bishop Edingdon's recent work. He did not pull down the old nave and rebuild it, as had recently been done at Canterbury; but taking the Norman pillars one by one as they stood, he with infinite pains cut perpendicular mouldings upon the faces of them.⁴ The eight western-

Transform-
ation of the
Cathedral
nave.

¹ Willis, p. 58, in *Winchester Archaeological volume*.

² See Wykeham's will, quoted Lowth, App. No. XIV, p. xxxvi.

³ The figures of "William Wynfor, lathomus" (mason), and "Simon Membury," clerk of the works, are portrayed in the east window of the Winchester college Chapel.

⁴ Willis, p. 68.

most of these piers to this day retain the small stones and thick mortar-beds of the Norman builders, but cut to the size and shape of perpendicular columns. Further, he converted the three compartments in height of the Norman nave into two, thus :—he removed the whole masonry from the top of the pier-arch, and ran his new piers to the height which had been that of the spring of the triforium gallery. This triforium he also removed entire, with the clearstory : and instead of them he placed a two-centred arch upon the top of his piers, surmounted by a projecting balcony, and over all a perpendicular window ; of which, however, he glazed only the central three lights above the transom, filling the rest of the compartments with stone panels. Thus the old clearstory was exactly represented in the new work by the real window, the triforium (or blind-story) by the blocked compartments below the transom.

The progress of this work of transformation must have been both slow and troublesome. After having altered thus the eight westernmost piers of the south side of the nave, Wykeham changed his mode of proceeding. He cut away more of the four easternmost piers of the same south side, and cased them with perpendicular ashlaring, which was at once easier of execution and showed no such contrast with the new perpendicular work ; whereas the first eight are to this day unmistakably transmuted Norman pillars.

But even so the progress of the work was slow. We find exactly what must have been the state of the work at the time of the making of his will, the date of which is July, 1403, or fourteen months before his death. At that time the south side of the nave was completely done ; on the north much was done, but it was far from complete. Professor Willis concludes that the parts left for his executors to complete, must have been the clearstory wall of the north side and the vaulting of the roof, and declares

that this view is perfectly borne out by the building itself.¹

Archbishop Arundel had, with hasty obsequiousness, been replaced by the pope even before the revolution was complete, on September 28th, 1399; by a bull in which he frankly confessed that he had changed his mind since he had relieved him from his chain and transferred him to St. Andrew's. As we have seen, Arundel had been the chief mover in the revolution; he had no mercy to expect from Richard had it failed. We can well understand, therefore, the triumphant tone and bitter words of the letter, which he sent to his suffragans for publication on the 10th of February, 1400, and which Wykeham published to his diocese on the 14th. He ascribes the salvation of the kingdom and of himself, "wrought by the hand of our powerful and most Christian king, from the mouths of wolves and the jaws of beasts, which had prepared us a dish mixed with gall if they had trampled on our back," to the intercession of the blessed Virgin; and he orders, in the case of all duly penitent and confessed Christian people who say the Lord's prayer and five repetitions of the angelic Salutation at matins, an indulgence of forty days.²

Publishes
archbishop's
circular
ordering
thanks for the
revolution.

Wykeham's expressions of joy and thankfulness would probably have been less savage; but his thankfulness can have been no less sincere. Twice, at the end of two successive reigns, had he been in imminent danger from the wrath of the sovereign and his advisers; but this latter danger had been the greater of the two, and he would not have failed to ascribe it, as did the archbishop, to the intercession for him of his especial patroness, the Mother of our Lord.

Again, in May, 1400, Wykeham appoints the same

¹ Willis, p. 58. But Heath (13), says positively, "Quod quidem opus feliciter consummavit." But what need of leaving nearly £2,000 towards the completion of the work in his will, if it was already happily finished?

² Reg. iii, 318.

ppoints
suffragans,

suffragan, the bishop of Ennachdun, to do his diocesan work till November, saying as before that he is fully occupied with political business;¹ and the commission is repeated in the same terms on March 1st, 1401.² Next year, in February, 1402, he appoints Thomas Butler, bishop of Christopolis, his suffragan for a whole year;³ and in November, John Brill, bishop of Ennachdun, for another year.⁴

ad
adjutors.

It will be noticed that he made the last appointment in the autumn of 1402, whereas he had not been in the habit of appointing suffragans till the spring. But by this time his infirmity had increased so much as to require stronger measures. He had taken up his residence in the end of 1401 at South (now Bishop's) Waltham, so as to be in the immediate neighbourhood of his parents' graves at Southwick, and his own native place; and this residence he never left again, though once or twice he ventured as far as Winchester. And now he acted upon the permission given him in the pope's bull of eleven years before; and causing the bull to be read publicly by John Elmer, appointed Nicholas Wykeham and the said John Elmer his co-adjutors, and swore them in; "and from that day," adds the Register, "all proceeded as usual by the consent and expressed authority of the said co-adjutors."⁵ This he did upon January 4th, 1403.

Only one notice of these last months of his life remains to us. Aylward⁶ tells us that "when he was prevented by physical weakness from performing Mass, he would receive the Communion of the Body of the Lord on Sundays and double-feast days, with remarkable devoutness and compunction of heart; and was often so moved as to shed tears."

¹ Reg. iii, 320.

² Id. 331.

³ Id. 346.

⁴ Id. 352.

⁵ Id. 352.

⁶ Aylw. 7.

On July 24th, 1403, he signed his will; and on September 22nd he appointed bishop Brill of Ennachdun to be his suffragan, no longer for a term, but during his pleasure.¹ And the next January 10th (1404) he nominated Thomas Merks, the deprived bishop of Carlisle—who had already repeatedly taken ordinations for him—to be his suffragan for a year;² before the end of which he had departed this life himself. Also, on the same January 10th, he executed a codicil to his will, and himself undertook the pleasing task of distributing as gifts certain sums of money, which he had before left as bequests to different people.

Signs his will

This year he finished building the Chantry which he had designed to the honour of the blessed Virgin, on the same spot where he had been used to attend the "Pekismass" when a young layman, and where he had ordered by his will that his body should be laid. On August 16th the prior and brethren of St. Swithun's made an agreement with him³ that, in requital of the remission of a yearly rent of £10 due from the convent, of the concession of a rent of £2. 15s. 4d. to the same, and of the great expense which the bishop had generously taken upon himself of putting the nave of their cathedral into repair, they granted him for ever that three of their number should say daily in his Chantry, first, a Mass, "De Sancta Maria,"⁴ at early dawn; and secondly and thirdly, two Masses later in the morning, either the Missa "De Sanctis"⁵ or one accompanied by prayers from the Temporal (according to the Church season), at the discretion of the officiants; who were to be paid at the rate of a penny a piece per day, and all necessities found for their use. The boys of the priory

dedicates his chantry,

¹ Reg. iii, 358.² Ib. 362.³ Lowth, Appendix No. XVI, who quotes the Cathedral Book of Evidences.⁴ See Proctor and Wordsworth's *Sarum Breviary*, 514-521.—"Missa de beata Maria."⁵ Id. 521.

school were also every night to say prayers at his Chantry, which till his death were to be for the souls of his parents, and after his death also for himself: and to be paid six-and-eightpence a year for this service.

and dies,
27th Sept. 1404.

They had not long to wait before using the full service. Wykeham fell asleep, full of years and honour, on Saturday, the 27th of September, the feast of SS. Cosmo and Damian, at his house at Waltham.

He was buried in the Cathedral of Winchester in his own Chantry. His hand was as open in death as it had always been in life: and he had provided by his will that every poor person who asked alms for God's love and the health of his soul in Winchester on the day of his burial should receive fourpence. This unlimited order might well be a severe drain on his executors, and may give us an idea of the amount of wealth which he left behind him.

The amount of money of which his will disposes is little short of ten thousand pounds; besides which, of course, there was a considerable property in land,¹ which passed to his heir, Sir Thomas Wykeham, the eldest surviving son of his niece, Alice Perrot.

But of his personal property he left £2,000 to his executors (Bishop Braybrook of London, Nicholas Wykeham, John Elmer, John Campden, Thomas Childrey, Sir Thomas Wykeham, and Thomas Aylward), £200 to be distributed among prisoners, £1,950 towards the completion of his work on the Cathedral nave: large sums to be distributed among the members of his two colleges; to sixteen religious houses within his diocese, and to Taunton priory; to twelve Churches in his diocese; to fifteen of his relations; to the justices of the King's Bench and the

¹ Besides the Broughton estate in Oxfordshire, he had also devised the manors of Burnham and Brean in Somersetshire to his heir on the 1st of July, 1397.—Lowth's Appendix, No. II.

Common Pleas ; to nine of his retainers ; to a hundred and ten more distant legatees ; to the incumbents of his livings, the porters of his castles, and the keepers of his parks and warrens.

The bishopric of Winchester passed into other hands—those of Henry Beaufort, the half-brother of the reigning king. He, too, occupied a great place in the political life of the next generation ; and Wykeham's sphere might have seemed exactly filled. But the rare combination of spiritual devoutness with political eminence had been one which was not easily found again. Meanwhile Wykeham's memory, instead of decaying with the generation that knew him personally, lives in the hearts of the faithful sons whom he has helped to educate.

We have reached the end of our survey of his life ; and what manner of man have we seen ?

*Summary of
his character*

We have seen one who, after his early and perhaps fortuitous rise, yet was equal to every station in which he was put by the providence of God ; one who was of no commanding genius on any single point, yet of singularly comprehensive mind, and balanced judgment in difficulties ; one popular in his manners, yet who dared to offend two successive sovereigns at the risk of his life ; one who was no theologian or original thinker, but successful in the administration of his large diocese, owing to the large heart and clear head which he brought to bear on his work ; one, finally, who though he had many admirers, and was continually growing in reputation, was utterly humble in his estimate of himself. Surely such a man must have been a mainstay to the Church of his generation : he has, at least, been a pride to all subsequent generations. For he did more to perpetuate his memory than any other English bishop ever did. He directly moulded the education of the

upper middle-class of the nation ; and thus his wish to do something to benefit "the soldiery of the English Church" has been largely fulfilled, more so even than his most sanguine hopes can have anticipated. May that wish only be more and more largely fulfilled till the end of time.

APPENDICES.



APPENDIX A.

WYKEHAM'S ALLEGED NOBILITY OF BIRTH.

THE account given in the text is that which seems to me, on the whole, preferable. I have reserved for this Appendix the discussion of the question, "Was Wykeham a *novus homo*, after all?"—which some writers have denied.

The evidence which attributes to him noble birth shall first be duly marshalled.

1. An anonymous writer makes this note at the end of the *Liber Albus*, New College: "It is well to be proved that William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, was born at a town in Hampshire called Wykeham, and that his grandfather's name was Wykeham, although there hath been some doubt of his father's name."

2. Harpsfield writes thus in the seventeenth century: "The place of his birth was a village called Wicham, whence some call him William of Wicham; but many reasons present themselves to me for which I may not be of their opinion, and which make me think that Wicham was the right name of his ancestors. For so he calls himself in his will; so in those statutes which he made for his colleges, and often in other places,—*i.e.*, Wicham, and not De Wicham. So the king's grants, whereby he gave him power to build colleges, and so the statutes of the realm call him. Besides, the first warden of his college in Oxford was Nicholas Wickham, his kinsman by blood. Moreover, others were chosen into the same college—John, Richard,

and Thomas Wickam, as his kinsmen, who, by virtue of the statutes, were admitted to a better estate and prerogative than others chosen into the same college. Besides, in the reign of king John there was one Ralph Wicham, and in the time of Henry III one Robert Wicham, knight, out of whose stock, family, and kindred came our Wicham; though, according to the changes of human affairs, his parents had small means."

3. Mr. C. Wykeham-Martin, writing in 1852, attempts to establish the descent of bishop Wykeham from his own ancestors, the Wykhams of Swalcliffe, near Banbury. His arguments for this purpose are:—

(1.) That the registers of New College contain this item: "Johannes Wickham de Swaclif de sanguine domini fundatoris admissus est anno Henrici 4th quarto" (*id.*, 1402—3).

(2.) That Nicholas Wykeham, archdeacon of Wilts, whom Wykeham calls his cousin, bore the same coat of arms with himself, only engrailing the chevronels which Wykeham bore plain. "This is essentially the same coat with that borne by Wykeham himself, the engraving of the chevronels at that early period merely indicating a different branch of the same family. . . . Nicholas Wykeham, then, was evidently no very near relation; even if he were first cousin, Wykeham's *grandfather* must have borne arms. . . . Under these circumstances concealment was impossible. Those were not times when persons looked out their names in the Heraldic Dictionary, and painted on their carriages any arms they found attached to a name like their own. On the contrary, the right was jealously watched by individuals, and, for a great portion of this time, was controlled by periodical visitations. There can, therefore, be only two alternatives,—either both families are entitled to the same coat, or the bishop or his successors,

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for the purpose of having it supposed that he was a man of family, although the reverse was the truth, usurped our arms, or connived at our usurping theirs."¹

(3.) "In 1377 William of Wykeham purchased Broughton Castle, within about three miles of Swalcliffe. He placed his great nephew, Sir Thomas, there long before his death, which took place in 1404. Broughton Castle still belongs to the descendants of Sir Thomas. Swalcliffe still belongs to Lady Wenman; and until the death of her father, about the year 1800, the two families continued to reside thus close together." Wykeham also bought the advowson of Swalcliffe itself.

(4.) A coat of arms painted in a window of Swalcliffe church, probably put up by Sir Robert Wykeham, of Swalcliffe, who was dead before 1346, or his father, bore the arms commonly known as bishop Wykeham's arms. They must therefore have been borne by the Wykhams of Swalcliffe before bishop Wykeham became a famous man.²

Such are the arguments of those who believe Wykeham to have been a scion of the well-known family of the name. We will endeavour to meet them one by one.

I. The anonymous statement that "his grandfather's name was Wykeham."

It has already been suggested that this may mean no more than that his grandfather, like himself, derived his surname from the village of Wickham.³

The whole subject of surnames at this date is one very little understood. Surnames did not come into fashion at all till the Norman invasion, when the growth of population made them necessary. And at the first, they were of four kinds. They were either *patronymic*, e.g., Giles the son of Robert, or Roberts, or Robertson; or *local*, taken at

¹ Wykeham-Martin, p. 23.

² p. 19.

³ See page 4.

first only by landlords from their property, afterwards by every one from his place of birth, *e.g.*, John Buckingham or De Buckingham ; or *professional*, signifying the trade or profession followed, *e.g.*, Thomas Carpenter ; or *personal*, which we should call nicknames, *e.g.*, John Long. These four kinds of surnames were at first only applied to the individuals of one generation ; but they all four soon became hereditary. And yet for some generations the liability to get a name from each of these four sources went on. It was possible therefore to have four surnames at once ; it was possible for John, the son of Robert (or Robertson, which name would change in the next generation into Johnson) to be a carpenter by trade, born at (say) Compton, and a short man : *i.e.*, he might indifferently call himself John Robertson, Carpenter, Compton, or Short.

Of these, by far the most numerous are the local surnames, and these are names which apply with equal propriety to every rank. Professional names (unless the profession indicated was an high office about the king) were for the most part confined at first to the lower rank of artizans : nicknames were at least rare in the upper rank. But there obviously was no reason why three generations or more, if they continued to reside at the same place, should not be known in the neighbourhood by the name of that place.

II. We next come to Harpsfield's objections, which may be summed up as three :

1. He called himself Wykeham, as well as De Wykeham, that is (Harpsfield would suggest) by a family name, as well as by a local name.

The objection rests upon a pure misconception of the history of surnames. "De" was at first simply the particle always attached to a local name when employed as a surname. Consequently, whether he called himself Wyke-

ham, or De Wykeham, both names alike were purely local—both alike were given because of his connection with the place called Wickham. That connection may have come about in two ways: he may have owned property there, or he may have been born there; either of these things would entitle him to call himself “of Wykeham.” If there is any difference between the names at all, it would surely be that “De Wykeham” was the more modest of the two; “Wykeham” was an indication that he was looking forward to found a family, and a family which should be known as the Wykehams *par excellence*. This seems to be quite sufficient to account for the name as given after he had risen to his singular eminence.

2. We hear of a multitude of other Wykehams, whom he calls his kinsmen.

It is quite true that we hear of a surprising number of other Wykehams, some of whom he claims for his kinsmen.¹ But our surprise will be abated when we remember, (1) that Wickham is such a common local name that naturally those who called themselves after it would be common, too; and (2), that when once a person of that name became famous,² others from the same place, whether relatives or not, would take the same name in preference to calling themselves by a patronymic, or a professional, or a personal name. Moreover, kinsmen by the mother's side would alter their other names to his, by way of asserting their relationship.³

3. There is a particular family—that of the Wykhams of Swalcliffe—from whom he is presumably descended.

¹ See Appendix B on “Wykeham's Collateral Relations.”

² Wykeham became bishop in 1367. His earliest patronage of his kinsman Nicholas is dated 1370; of Richard Wykeham, 1371. (See p. 84, n. 2.) These are the earliest instances of others of the same name of which we hear.

³ So his great nephews, whose father's name was Perrot, took the name of Wykeham in token that they were his heirs. So John Fyryan took the name of Wykeham.

This is the hypothesis which Mr. Wykeham-Martin has adopted. His first argument is that :

(i.) In the New College Register, within the founder's lifetime (in 1403),¹ a John de Wickham is described both as "de Swacliffe" and "de sanguine domini fundatoris." If we allow the natural inference, *cadit quæstio*, bishop Wykeham was a blood relation of the Swalcliffe family. But it is possible that just before the founder's death the name of Wickham might be mistaken for an assertion of relationship: and this will become more probable as we allow due weight to the arguments against such relationship.

What are they? They are such as follows:—

(1.) The absence of all indication in his pedigree that he was other than a south-country man.²

(2.) The fact that it is recorded by his earliest biographers that he was born at Wickham in Hampshire, which fact would account in the most natural way possible for his assuming the name of De Wykeham or Wykeham. Now, even by those who assert that he was related to the Wykhams of Swalcliffe, it is not pretended that they took their name from the same Wickham; but, on the contrary, they were called from a Wykham in Oxfordshire, a hamlet near Banbury. It comes to this, then; that an ancestor of Wykeham's, probably his grandfather, calling himself Wykeham after the Oxfordshire hamlet, must have settled at Wickham in Hampshire, and so transmitted to his descendants *two* rights to call themselves by the name

¹ But in the 1st Register of Winchester the entry made is "Joh. Wikeham de Swalclyff in com. Oxon." The words "de sanguine fundatoris" are not there; they are there as a description of "John Wykeham" in 1373.

² Of the fifteen local names in his pedigree many of course cannot be identified in the map. But there are three undoubtedly in Hants, one in Berks, one in Dorset, one in Sussex. There is also one in Oxfordshire—Aynho, near Banbury, which was the name of the first husband of Wykeham's first cousin once removed. But the marriage would not have taken place till after 1377, when bishop Wykeham had bought the property at Swalcliffe, near Banbury.

of Wykeham. Is this in itself probable? It certainly is not impossible; but without further proof, this is all that can be said for it.

(3.) The fact that the claims of members of the Swalcliffe family to enjoy the privileges of founder's kin have twice been decided against at law—in 1572 and in 1635; and that in spite of the testimony of the New College Register.

(ii.) Mr. Wykeham-Martin's second argument is that bishop Wykeham bought an estate within three miles of Swalcliffe, and settled his heir there before he died. The coincidence is certainly curious, and it proves that he must have been well acquainted with the Wykhams of Swalcliffe. But it certainly does not prove relationship. Mr. Martin urges the improbability of Wykeham having taken his arms from Wykham of Swalcliffe, as this would amount to a charge of misrepresentation of fact, if they were not connected in blood. But may not the Swalcliffe Wykeham have been the copyist, and taken his arms from the bishop? By Mr. Martin's own showing, the Swalcliffe family did, as a matter of fact, change their arms just about this time, and drop the Tankerville arms which they had used for one or two generations. Mr. Martin allows this, but suggests that they had borne the Wykeham coat before that of Tankerville; and, so, that they only resumed their old arms, "when a still greater relative of their own race came and settled in their immediate neighbourhood." But of this I can find no proof whatever.

(iii.) That they had before borne the coat known as the Wykeham coat, and no other, Mr. Wykeham Martin argues from the fact that the coat occurs in a painted window put up, according to him, about the date of the bishop's birth. Other portions of the same window, he says, are of about this date. But who is it to assure us

that this particular coat (which, by the way, has disappeared now, but is described in an affidavit of the vicar in 1635) was of that particular date? Why should it not have been inserted fifty years later, when the bishop had already bought Broughton, and the Swalcliffe Wykehams had adopted the arms chosen for himself by the "still greater" bearer "of their own" name?

On the whole, it is much more likely that the arms were (as was suggested long ago) *canting* arms, *i.e.*, arms adopted by Wykeham with a view to intimating the means through which he had risen; for a chevron is said to be a rude imitation of a carpenter's square. He at first bore one chevron sable between three roses, gules; afterwards, whilst still archdeacon of Lincoln, he changed his coat, and took two chevronels instead of one chevron.¹ This coat Sir Robert Wykham of Swalcliffe probably adopted entire: Nicholas, the bishop's cousin, slightly modified it, only engrailing the chevronels.

Finally, it does not seem out of place to attribute (as has been commonly done) his famous motto "Manners makyth man"² to this unprecedented rise, as if by this motto he would point to the real cause of his rise—virtue, or moral character. If so, both the arms and the motto would show that Wykeham was not ashamed of his lowly birth;—the surest sign of true greatness of mind.

¹ He is commonly said to have made this change on being made bishop (See Wykeham-Martin, p. 14). But there is a seal in the British Museum of "William of Wykeham, archdeacon of Lincoln," which bears two chevronels, not one only.

² In the church at Bradford Peverell, in Dorset (which was one of the advowsons left by Wykeham to Winchester College), is some painted glass with a representation of these arms and their motto, singularly spelt. The arms are said to belong to "Willam Wikkam," and the motto is spelt "Manare makvthe man." The spelling of "manner" in Middle English, as given by Skeat (quoting Old English Homilies, ed. Morris, i, 50, line 30) is "manere," and thus the word might be singular, not plural. But on the other hand, the motto is given as "Mores componunt hominem" in a New College MS. lately printed.

APPENDIX B.

WYKEHAM'S COLLATERAL RELATIONS.

THE direct authorities for Wykeham's relations are :—

1. His will.—Lowth's Appendix, No. XVII.
2. The document given in Lowth's Appendix, Nos. II—IV; *i.e.*, II: an indenture demising the manors of Burnham and Brean, with successive remainders; III: record from the Court of King's Bench, concerning claimants to Eling manor; IV: agreement between Wykeham and his heir, from records of Court of Common Bench.
3. An anonymous entry on the first flyleaf of the same volume with Heath's MS., which appears itself (from internal evidence) to be taken from three different sources. Given in Lowth's Appendix, No. I.

The brother of John Long was called Henry Aas, or Ays: he had three sons, by one of whom (Ralph) he was grandfather to Felicia Aas, or Ays, nun and eventually abbess of Romsey.

John's sister was called Alice, who married John Akemore (Oakmoor?), and had thirteen daughters, of whom (1) Emma, married a Carpenter and had a son William and a daughter Joan, who married Thomas Warenner, or Warner.¹ This couple had a son Thomas (who again had a son Reginald) and a daughter Agnes,

¹ Sheriff of Hants in 1394 with John Sandes.

who married Sir Walter Sandes.¹ (2) Margery, married a man named Rokle (Rockwell?) and was the mother of John, and three daughters: (i) Edith, who married William Ringborne, and was mother of another William Ringborne, the "domicellus," or steward, of the diocesan land in 1403; (ii) Agnes,² who married twice,—first Guy Aynho, and secondly a man named Woodlock; (iii) Isabel, who married William Mayvell (Mayfield?) and was the mother of William, whose wife was called Joan, and who had children, and probably Edith, the wife of William Croyser (Crosier). (3) Alice, who married Robert Mayfield, and was the mother of another Robert Mayfield. (4) Maud, the grandmother, through an Agnes, of a Joan who married John Bolney. (5) Joan, the mother of Zelot (Sallot) who married a Purbeck.

Wykeham's mother, Sibill Bowade (Boyatt?),³ was the daughter of William Bowade and Alice, eldest daughter of Sir William Stratton and Amice, daughter of another Stratton, who probably left Stratton to her and her husband. All the sons of this William and Amice died childless; besides Alice they had two more daughters, one of whom, Gillian, married Richard Botley, and left an heiress, Emma, who brought Botley to her husband, Richard Bennet; and the other, Eleanor, married Richard Kerswell, and had a daughter Elizabeth, who married Roger Goring.

Besides William, the future bishop, John Long and Sibill had a daughter, Agnes, who married a Champneys, and was mother of Alice, who married William Perrot. This couple had three sons, of whom the eldest who survived

¹ Sheriff of Hants in 1410 and 1414.

² She is not owned by the anonymous MS.; but the reason why I insert her here is that she is inserted between her sisters? Edith and Isabel in the document given in Lowth, App. II.

³ The Domesday spelling of Boyatt is "Boviete."

him was intended by bishop Wykeham for his heir, and who, therefore, all took the name of Wykeham; William, who married Alice the daughter of John Uvedale, and died before 1403; Sir Thomas, Wykeham's heir, who married the daughter of William Wilkins; and John, probably¹ the rector of Crondall, 1403, to whom bishop Wykeham left £100.

But there are many kinsmen of uncertain relationship. Such are:—

1. *Nicholas Wykeham*, probably not nearer to the bishop than his second cousin, tracing descent from his great-grandfather. He was made prebendary of Appledram in Bosham church, Chichester, 1370; archdeacon of Winchester, 1372, and resigned it 30th November, 1381; chancellor of Oxford, 1373; *locum tenens* for the master of St. Cross, 1374, and resigned 1382; warden of St. Nicholas' hospital, Portsmouth, and rector of Witney, 1378; ordained acolyte and sub-deacon, and made warden of New College, Oxford, 1379, which last he resigned 26th April, 1389; archdeacon of Wilts, probably in 1381, certainly before 1385; ordained priest, 1383; prebendary of Bedwin in Sarum cathedral 1388; of Timbersbury in Romsey church. Died 1406.

2. *Helen*, sister to Nicholas Wykeham, living 1403.

3. *Richard Wykeham*, prebendary of Peasmarsh in Hastings church 1st October, 1371; warden of St. Nicholas' hospital, Portsmouth. Died 1378.

4. *John Wykeham*, acolyte, 1379, sub-deacon, 1380, under the name of Fyvyan; afterwards assumed the name of Wykeham. Rector of Adderbury and Broughton.

5. *John Wykeham*, acolyte and sub-deacon, 1395; rector of Stockton, diocese Sarum, of Calbourne, Brighstone,

¹ This I infer from his being named in the will next to his mother (?), who is first of the bishop's relations.

South Waltham, and Mapledurham or Buriton. To him the bishop leaves £50, to pay for his "inception" in theology at Oxford.

6. *John Wykeham*, rector of Bishopstone, 1379.¹

7. *Adam*

8. *Edward* } *Bell*, all had letters dimissory for the

9. *John* }

first tonsure,² 6th October, 1366, and were specified to be of Wykeham's kindred. The last of them, John Bell, may be the same who is rector of Stockton, 1397; possibly the same with John Wykeham (5) above, in which case he would have changed his name from Bell to Wykeham. There was a family of Bells at Bramley in North Hampshire; probably they would have been relations of Wykeham's mother, as she came from the same neighbourhood.

10. *Richard* } *Aas*, also first tonsured October, 1366.

11. *Henry* }

Richard may possibly have been Wykeham's first cousin, the son of his uncle Henry.

12. *William Aas*, admitted to Winchester, 1398, fellow of New College, 1404. Possibly the brother of Felicia Aas the abbess of Romsey, and therefore Wykeham's first cousin once removed.

¹ Archdeacon Lear informs me that this name and date are on a stone in the flooring of Bishopstone Church.

² I take the fact from Lowth; but I cannot find it recorded either at the end of Edington's Register, or the beginning of Wykeham's.

APPENDIX C.

Certificatorium Episcopi Londoniensis factum domino Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi xvij^{mo} Kal. Decembr. Pontificatus domini nostri domini Urbani Papæ quinti anno quinto.

. . . . ITEM sub eisdem anno et mense dominus Willelmus de Wykeham, Archdiaconus Lincoln, et domini nostri Regis Angliæ illustrissimi,¹ et custos privati sigilli sui, in civitate ac diocesi Londoniensi ratione officii sui prædicti moram trahens et ut con[stat?] larem fovens, nobis Simoni London Episcopo intimavit et in scripto exhibuit clare, particulariter, et distincte, ut dixit, quod obtinet Archidiaconatum Lincoln, nullum beneficium ecclesiasticum nec mansum eidem habentem annexum, qui reputatur dignitas in ecclesia Lincoln, et est beneficium curatum et impassibile cum alio curato, non taxatum: verus valor et communis annuus ejusdem, si Archidiaconus personaliter visitet omnes ecclesias Archidiaconatus sui et solidas procuraciones percipiat ubique in pecunia immediata, se extendit ad cccl libras sterlingorum.

Item Canonicatum et præbendam de Sutton in dicta ecclesia Lincoln, et est beneficium non curatum et compassibile² cum curato beneficio; taxa ejusdem cclx marcæ sterlingorum.

Item Canonicatum et præbendam de Laghton in Ecclesia Eboracensi, et est beneficium non curatum et

¹ Some word like "secretarius" omitted.

² First written "curatum et impassibile;" but "non" is inserted above the line before "curatum," and "in" erased before "compassibile."

compassibile cum curato, et sic habitum et reputatum ; taxa ejusdem cx marcæ sterlingorum.

Item Canonicatum et præbendam de Donham in ecclesia collegiata de Suthwell Eboracensi diocesi, et est beneficium non curatum et compassibile cum curato ; taxa ejusdem lv marcæ sterlingorum.

Item Canonicatum et præbendam Altaris beatæ Mariæ in ecclesia collegiata Beverlaciensi Eboracensi diocesi, et est beneficium non curatum et compassibile cum curato : taxa ejusdem xvj libræ sterlingorum.

Item Canonicatum et præbendam de Totenhale in Ecclesia Londoniensi, beneficium utique non curatum et compassibile cum curato beneficio ; taxa ejusdem xvj marcæ sterlingorum.

Item Canonicatum et præbendam de Fordyngton in Ecclesia Sarum, beneficium etiam non curatum et compassibile cum curato beneficio ; taxa ejusdem xxv marcæ sterlingorum.

Item Canonicatum et præbendam de Werwell in monasterio monialium de Wherwell Wyntoniensi diocesi, et est beneficium non curatum et compassibile cum curato ; taxa ejusdem lx marcæ.

Item Canonicatum et præbendam de Iwerne in monasterio monialium Shafton Sarum diocesi, beneficium utique non curatum et compassibile cum curato, et [sic] est habitum et reputatum ; taxa ejusdem xxx marcæ sterlingorum.

Item Canonicatum et præbendam de Swerdes in ecclesia Dublinensi in Hibernia, et est beneficium non curatum et compassibile cum curato ; taxa ejusdem $\frac{xx}{iij}x$ marcæ sterlingorum.

Item præposituram Wellensem cum præbenda in ecclesia Wellensi eidem annexa ; præpositura prædicta est simplex officium et non curatum et compassibile cum alio beneficio, et sic est habitum et reputatum. Taxa præposituræ cum

præbenda ei annexa lx viij marcæ sterlingorum. Et de fructibus et proventibus ejusdem præposituræ solvitur xiiij Canonicis pro præbendis suis, et vicariis ac aliis ministris illius ecclesiæ, singulis annis clxxv marcæ sterlingorum.

Item præfatus dominus Willelmus de Wykham obtinuit tempore datæ monitionis prædictæ ex collatione domini . . . ¹ Regis Angliæ illustrissimi Canonicatum et præbendam de Alnethle in libera capella præfati domini nostri . . . ¹ Regis de Bruggenorth Coventriensi et Lichfeldiensi diocesi, et est beneficium non curatum et compassibile cum beneficio curato. Et eosdem de patronatu . . . ¹ Regis existentes resignavit penitus, et simpliciter in forma juris dimisit re et verbo. Et quia de taxa ejusdem scrutatis Registris tam Episcopalibus quam etiam domini nostri . . . ¹ Regis et Nuncii domini nostri papæ in Angliæ, ac omni diligentia requisita per me adhibita, mihi constare non poterat neque constat; ideo dictæ præbendæ verum valorem nobis Simõni Londoniensi Episcopo sæpeditus exhibuit, qui se extendit annuatim ad xxiiij libras vj solidos viij denarios sterlingorum.

Idem dictus dominus Willelmus obtinuit virtute dispensationis apostolicæ sibi in hac parte sufficienter facta et concessæ tempore datæ monitionis predictæ etiam ecclesiam parochialem de Manyhnet Exoniensi diocesi, de patronatu tamen laicali, et est beneficium, et eandem ecclesiam resignavit penitus, et simpliciter in forma juris dimisit re et verbo. Taxa ejusdem viij libræ sterlingorum.

Item obtinuit unum rescriptum seu bullam apostolicam de tempore fere domini Innocentii Papæ quinti² domino . . . ³ Electo Menevensi, directam ad examinandam personam ipsius Willelmi, et si idoneus esset repertus ad

¹ Written thus in MS.

² Really, Innocent VI.

³ Written thus in MS.

permissionem dandam sibi de Canonicatu et præbenda ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ de Aukelond Dunelmensi diocesi, quas quondam Thomas de Bridekylkt, alias de Carlelis, in ipsa ecclesia dum viveret obtinebat ; sed vigore ejusdem nec collationem inde habuit, nec eosdem Canonicatum et præbendam est vel fuit assesiat[us] [vel] assecutus, nec intendit assequi in futuro, nec dicto rescripto apostolico sive bulla uti quovismodo. De taxa seu valore non constat.

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APPENDIX D.

*AYLWARD'S MS.*¹

VETERUM² gesta nobilium, morum modestiam, artium notitiam, jura ecclesiæ, trivium theologicarum virtutum et quadrivium cardinalium, ac vitas patrum investigare et capere nostra modicitas minime suffecisset, nisi in remedium imperfectionis humanæ literarum usum divina miseratio providisset, et longitudo scriptorum nostræ imperitiæ transfudisset memoriam transactorum. Siquidem vita brevis, sensus hebes, animus torpens, memoria labens, inutilis demum occupatio nos impediunt multa scire, nocitante semper oblivione pestifera inimica. Quis quæso mortalium hodie Cæsares nosceret, philosophos miraretur, apostolos sequeretur, nisi eos scriptorum historiæ insignirent? Benedictus igitur Deus, volens omnes homines salvos fieri et in agnitionem veritatis venire, ostendit nobis in Scripturis mirabilia magna ad posteritatis memoriam profutura, ex quibus non solum nobis cura oriretur salutis, verum etiam historia salutaris ad doctrinam pietatis conderetur, qua virtutis iter agere volentibus gestorum precedentium fide tramitem pandet amplissimum. Ut †demum † bonorum unusquisque inflammatus exemplis honescere quidem mundi illecebras, veramque mentis sectari quietem, ac pietatis exercere officia invitetur, merita ergo et opera felicitis recordationis domini Willelmi de Wykeham nuper Wyntonix episcopi, qui dixit communiter

¹ The division into paragraphs is not in the original, but is merely for purposes of reference.

² The first letter omitted in the MS.

"Operibus credite," ad Dei laudem ex cujus dono fuerunt, et ad instrumenta ac exempla vivorum, sunt merito hic commendanda memoriae.

II. Erat enim Willelmus pater venerabilis antedictus a primævo literarum studio Wyntonix traditus, Deo non modicum et ecclesiæ sacrosanctæ devotus; necnon basilicæ majoris Wynton, in qua ut speratur miseratione divina postmodum præfuit, ubi jam humatus corpore requiescit, limina frequentans devote, et coram beatæ Virginis Mariæ imagine, stante in capella in qua traditus est ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ, suas speciales fundens orationes quotidie, missam matutinalem [cujusdam monachi¹] Pekismasse tunc dictam vulgariter, in dies consuevit andire; et sic in pueritia a se pigritudinis² somnum excutiens, secundum beati Petri apostoli doctrinam, incepit in orationibus vigilare.

III. Postquam vero puerilem decurrebat ætatem, et discretionis annos attigeret, in minoribus approbatus ad altiora gradatim ascendens, assumptus est ad recolendæ memoriæ regis Edwardi tertii digna obsequia, propter ipsius eximiam probitatem, per ipsumque regem in diversis officiis, videlicet officiis clerici novorum operum Castrorum de Wyndesore et Queneburgh, secretarii, ac privati sigilli, tandem Cancellarius sæpius est effectus, toto que tempore sui regiminis, tam temporibus Edwardi quam Ricardi, ipsorum utrique obsequiosus exstitit et fidelis, ac populo regni favorabilis et plurimum gratus ipsum a subsidiis et exactionibus et aliis oppressionibus præservans, continue forsitan sua mente in ejus officiis retinebat. Hæc beati Petri eloquia "Deum timete, regem honorificate fraternitatem diligite:" et quia spectat ad prælatos esse valide sollicitos de studio litterarum nec existentes in

¹ These words are inserted in the margin.

² MS. pignitudine.

regno sint tenebris ignorantiae involuti, ea propter duo magna construxit collegia, unum videlicet, velut scientiae luminare minus, in loco illo quo litterarum studium Wynton frequentare et hospitari consueverat, in honorem beatæ Mariæ virginis gloriosæ, ad perpetuum refugium pauperum, et ad augmentum juvenum fundavit studentium. Et †ad† venerabile collegium, tanquam scientiae luminare majus, in universitate Oxoniæ ad cultum divinum necnon ad exaltationem fidei Christianæ laudabiliter instituit, †propterea† et dotavit; ut sic scholares, in minori collegio scientiis primitivis sufficienter instituti, in aliis scientiis liberalibus postea imbuendi, atque ad gradus ecclesiasticos essent idonei insuper promovendi; per hoc sane advertens, quod ubi viget fons sapientiæ Scripturarum, oportet quod inde totus populus aliquam eruditionem accipiat qua prudentiores fiant illicita præcavere.

IV. Et non solum in præmissis nunc insistens operibus, verum etiam in relevationem pauperum suorum tenentium pro episcopatu Wynton magnam summam pecuniæ, pro recognitione in principio sui adventus debita et solvenda gratiose remisit, et etiam condonavit usque ad summam quingentarum duarum librarum et novemdecim denariorum. Ac diversis ministris episcopatus ejusdem, ad inopiam vergentibus et non modicum depauperatis, grandes pecuniarum summas sibi deditas ab eisdem repetitis vicibus, usque ad summam ij millium marcarum, pro Deo liberaliter relaxavit. Et tribus solutionibus de subsidiis in parliamentis domino Regi concessis, eosdem tenentes solvenda subsidia hujusmodi misericorditer relevavit. At omni die, a tempore erectionis suæ ad episcopatum Wynton, viginti quatuor pauperes ad minus pavit sua elemosina abundante. Fratres ecclesiæ pauperes in vita et in morte sua visitavit gratia valde larga, habeas præ mentis oculos illud quod Lucæ sexto discipulis dixit Jesus, "Estote misericordes, dimittite et dimittemini,

date et dabitur vobis." Ad incarceratos vero diversis carceribus vel gaolis pro debitis existentes compassionis oculos dirigens, a tribus mille marcarum pro summa hujusmodi divincolatos cum eorum creditoribus componendo fecit piissime liberari: advertens quod iudicio dicit Christus cum magna veniens potestate: "In carcere eram et venistis ad me." Quantum vero hospitalis fuerit, tam in susceptione pauperum quam divitum, hujus regni incolas tanquam manifestissimum creditur non latere; forte recolebat illud Scripturæ "Oportet Episcopum hospitem esse"; et alibi "Hospitales invicem sine murmuratione."

V. Cantariam etiam perpetuam de quinque presbyteris ordinavit in ecclesia de Suthwyke pro animabus Johannis et Sibillæ parentum suorum, tanquam in hoc bonus et dignus eis filius, sic affectans eorum animas omni die missarum juvari suffragiis; ac nomina parentum fore in memoria sempiterna: et sic honorando patrem et matrem puto juxta verbum Domini "meruit longævus esse super terram." Erat insuper in ejus animo super itinerantes pia compassio, nam inter London et civitatem Wynton et alibi, locis quampluribus vias lutosas, aquaticas, atque turpissimas fecit mundari, exaltari, atque humanis gressibus reparari: quatenus ipse viam universæ carnis hujus pertransivit, viam quo mandatorum Dei melius curreret, et viam devotius versus patriam cœlestem arriperet: nonnullus enim itinerans, qui olim locis prædictis vias ambulavit difficiles, etiam lætus dicere valet de eo, "Viam fecit pedibus meis," Habacuc I°.

VI. Ecclesias et loca quamplura, paupertate depressa, venerabilis pater prædictus gravibus sumptibus et laboribus reparavit, ac fecit mirifice decorari, in libris, vestimentis, calicibus, atque aliis ecclesiasticis ornamentis: nam centum et tresdecim calices argenteos, ac centum paria vestimentorum ecclesiis pauperioribus sui episcopatus donavit:

et præcipue sponsam suam ecclesiam Wynton, tam in vita quam in morte, rebus pretiosis ditavit. Ac novam ejus fabricam liberaliter renovavit, quam incepit die Mercurii proximo post Festum omnium Sanctorum, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi xvij^o, et anno consecrationis dicti patris xxviii^o, quare Deo dicere merito potest illud psalterii, "Domine dilexi decorem domus tuæ." Non sunt oblivioni tradenda, quod claustrum domus capitalis ac corpus ecclesiæ collegii sancti Martini London ibidem dum præfuit honorifice reparata fuere; et quod in aliis novis ædificiis et reparationibus domorum antiquarum, molendinarum, et stagnorum maneriorum Episcopatus sui, videlicet de Suthwerk, Esshere, Farnham, Sutton, Waltham, Clere, Downton, Meones, Twyford, Byttone, Taunton, Adderburi, Wytteneye, Wergrave, et aliorum, per xxxvij annos quibus eis præfuit, xx^{ti} mille marcas et amplius expendidit super eadem, prout clare constare poterit per rotulos compotorum maneriorum prædictorum; prater expensas alias quas fecit in perquisitionibus terrarum et tenementorum suæ mensæ episcopali adquirentium in perpetuum, usque ad summam valoris annui cc marcarum: etiam hoc reliquit heredi suo proximo, scilicet Thomas de Wykeham, maneria terras ac tenementa de perquisitu suo ad valorem annuum sexcentarum marcarum. Necnon et consecrationis suæ anno x^o æmulorum suorum malitia sua temporalia erant ablata, omnibus computatis decem millium marcarum passus est damna, post quorum temporalium restitutionem omnia facta laudabilia et opera fecit præmissa.

VII. Et nedum sua, sicut præmittitur, et ille semetipsum Deo vivum sacrificium obtulit, ubi inter missarum solemnias, præsertim ea parte missæ qua pro vivis et mortuis specialiter agitur memoria, lacrimas abundantius effundebat, ex cordis humilitate reputans se indignum, ut frequentius

suis secretariis jam expressit, quod tantum perageret officium, et tam dignum tractaret ecclesiæ Sacramentum, secundum illud Matthæi octavo, "Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum." Postquam vero debilitate corporis impeditus missæ officium complere non potuit, in dominicis et festis duplicibus communionem Dominici corporis cum veneratione non modica et cordis compunctione, et frequenter ad lacrimarum effusionem devote suscepit, forsitan illud mente contemplatus quod ad ecclesiam sæpius decantatur: "O sacrum convivium, in quo Christus sumitur, recolitur memoria passionis ejus, mens impletur gratia, et futuræ gloriæ nobis pignus datur. De Christo enim pane cœlesti, qui se posuit in forma panis, sacramento mirabili, et non de aliquo pane materiali est veraciter intellectum, quod qui manducat hunc panem vivet in æternum." Magnæ etiam retributiones suis factæ familiaribus intrinsecus atque extrinsecus tribus vicibus essent merito eorum memoriæ commendandæ, qui aliter ingrati dicere poterunt sui minime recordanti, "Reduc me in memoriam tu bona quæ feci tibi," etc.

Hæc primo ad laudem Dei, qui prædicta et alia bona fecit per eum, sunt scripta; dicitur enim, "Lauda post mortem, magnifica post consummationem; lauda post periculum, prædica securum; lauda ducis virtutem, scilicet cum perductus fuerit ad triumphum." Secundo scripta sunt ista ut quilibet hæc videns magis excitetur ad Deum diligendum exemplo ejus, etiam et pauperes Christianos, et ad orandum pro eo, dicens devote "Anima domini Willelmi de Wykeham et fidelium animæ per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace. Amen. Amen."

APPENDIX E.

HEATH'S MS.

*Prologus libelli seu tractatus de prosapia, vita et gestis
venerabilis patris et domini domini Willelmi de Wyke-
ham nuper episcopi Wyntoniensis.*

PROTOPLASTI¹ rubigine humana contaminata conditio sic cellulæ memorialis eclipsatur officio, ut perdet quod non sæpe perspicit, vel jugiter meditatur quem, uno velut de prætenso sacco, aliunde excidit quod non aliunde immittitur, sic profecto quod aure una ingeritur altera protinus erigitur. Unde, velut naturæ speculator imaginis secedens a speculo consideratæ jam effigiei non meminit, sic profecto quod oculata lectio tribuit momentanei actus interpositio intercipit et excludit. Proinde reverberatæ considerationis oculo animadvertens ego, servus humilis et alumnus reverendi patris et domini domini Willelmi Wykeham nuper episcopi Wyntoniensis, quod non hominis sed numinis proprium esse convincitur cuncta tenere memoriter; inconcusseque considerans quod nihil magis ad æmulationem perfectionis animum humanum provocat et accendit, quam quorum licet perfectionem legere vel audire virtutes; cum impossibile sibi nullus debeat arbitrari quod alium fecisse cognovit. Et quod etiam laus post mortem sine adulatione impenditur, et gloria post triumphum,²

¹ Protoplasti MS.

² An allusion to a Latin anthem quoted at length by Aylward *sub. fin.*—See Appx. D.

ejusdem venerabilis patris Willelmi Wykeham vitam operibus insignem cum aliis ejus gestis a mea paupertate utcunque litteris traditam, vobis carissimi socii qui communiter vivitis in collegiis beatæ Mariæ per eundem patrem Oxoniæ et Wyntoniæ fundatis, ad honorem Dei et beatissimæ Mariæ genetricis ejusdem, ac instructionem futurorum, sub hoc brevi compendio credidi commendandam. Quis tamen ego, vel qualis ego, vel quæ scientia, vel qualis facundia mea, ut tantum patrem meis litteris proditum meis commendatum sermonibus efferre vellem in publicum, cui hoc æstimatur ascribendum, fidei an affectui? cur non et utrique? Et ego neutrum judicans contemnendum, conjunxi fidem fidei, affectum affectui, et hinc desiderio illinc presumptione concepta, inspexi codices et chronicas, assensuque eorum non recedens, pauca quæ vel ex chronicis verissimis transtuli, vel ex certa veterum et vera relatione didici, non inutiliter ut mihi videtur in hoc libello apposui. Unde non doctrinæ literatoriæ suffultus adminiculis hoc opus aggredior, sed in Domino confidens Spiritum suggestorem veritatis imploro, metricè sic dicendo:

Omnia cum nequeam Willelmi scribere gesta,
Pauca brevi calamo scribere nitar ego:
Nam si cuncta velim diffusius illa referre,
Quæ mora, quis calamus, sufficit hoc ad opus?
Ingenio vires inspiret Spiritus almus,
Menti fundat opes hoc opus ejus ope,
Ut meliore modo sic prosequare ore fideli,
Hoc opus inceptum fine bono peragens.

In laboris igitur mei principio vos carissimi socii exoro, ut quod meritis non meretur cunctum mihi gaudium vestris opitulantibus precibus condonetur.

1. De prosapia ejusdem patris, et ubi et ex quibus originem duxit.

Reverendi in Christo patris et domini domini Willelmi Wykeham nuper episcopi Wyntoniensis originem literis traditurus, ex verbis beatissimi patris apostolorum principis sumo exordium, qui beati centurionis fidem admirans, "In veritate" inquit "comperi quod non est personarum acceptor Deus, sed in omni gente qui timet Deum et operatur justitiam acceptus est illi." In omni itaque gente, in omni ordine, et omni gradu novit Deus qui sunt ejus, et miseratur cui voluit, misericordiam præstat in quem sibi placuit, attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponens omnia suaviter. Neque emin ex sui ipsius natura vel paupertas præstat vel adimunt divitiæ divinam gratiam. Fuit igitur de quo loqui disposui Willelmus Wykeham Christianæ professionis hæres, apud oppidum de Wykeham in comitatu Suthampton felici momento enixus; et sic a loco nomen assumpsit, et nomen cum loco eulogio perpetuo decoravit. Cujus ortus primordia ex parte matris nomine Sibillæ generosa prosapia natalibus legis insignivit. Pater vero ejus Johannes nomine, progenitorum libertate dotatus, honestum moribus et gesturis se omnibus exhibebat. O quam felices non opibus sed virtutibus; o quam generatio casta cum claritate!

2. De anno nativitatis et de gestis usque ad annum ætatis suæ vigesimum.

Operum Dominus creator omnium, Deus fons et origo totius bonitatis, sua sapientia disponens et dirigens universa, sic natum puerum Willelmum, videlicet anno Domini M^{mo} CCC^{mo} XXIIJ^o, et regni regis Edwardi secundi anno XVIIJ^o, papatum Romæ tunc tenente Johanne papa XXIJ^o, feliciter gubernavit, ut sacri baptismatis unda perfusus et sacro perunctus chrismate plenius incorporetur, effectusque sacri Spiritus domicilium in ejus disciplina nutrietur. Crevit

autem puer Willelmus, et confortatus est, fuitque Dominus cum eo, et omnia ejus opera dirigebat. Parentes vero ejus licet honesti genere, opibus tamen non affluebant; unde filius, non ex eorum patrimonio sed aliorum patrocínio nutritus, literis sæcularibus parvulus primitivis scientiis traditur imbuendus, qui tamen primitivæ scientiæ limites non transcendit. Postquam animi maturitatem adesset, probis et præclaris viris adhærens prudentiæ sæculari se commisit, et officium Marthæ in se suscipiens panem otiose non comedit, ambulans de virtute in virtutem: unde vice tabellionis cuidam armigero, Constabulario scilicet castri Wyntoniensis, adhærebat. Exinde cæpit in florem sæcularis prudentiæ pubescere, et fructum discretionis polliceri. Nunc secundum utrumque hominem multiplici naturalium gratia donorum bonitas Dei ditavit, ut in ministerium magnum vas videretur excisum, et ex naturæ beneficiis futurus prædicatur antistes. Nam dispensatione divina quem vocavit ad majora erudiebat et exercebat in minoribus, quasi in quibusdam futurorum præparatoriis. Non est igitur postponendum quod in hac ætate frequentare ecclesiam dulce habuit, crebrius orationi incumbere, sacris missarum interesse solemnibus. Unde et specialem devotionem habuit ad beatam Dei genitricem; ob cujus honorem sæpius visitavit ecclesiam sancti Swithuni, coram imagine ejusdem tunc posita in quadam columna ejusdem ecclesiæ, genibus flexis eam humiliter deprecans, ut suis precibus ad talem statum mereretur assumi, ut non solum ipsam sed filium ejus Jesum Christum in ecclesia militante dignius honoraret.

3. *De translatione ejus ad curiam regis; et quam ordinatur omnium supervisor operum regis; et de promotione ejus ad diversa beneficia et officia.*

Biennio vel triennio clapso post annum scilicet ætatis

suae vicesimum, translatus est in curiam domini regis Edwardi tertii, qui promerente sua bonitate gratisque suffragantibus obsequiis inter primos et præcipuos regis familiares in brevi est admissus. Unde anno Domini M^{mo} CCC^{mo} LX^o, et regni regis Edwardi tertii anno XXIIJ^o, ætatis vero dicti Willelmi Wykeham anno XXXVJ^o, rex castrum suum de Windesore, ubi natus fuerat, pulchris ædificiis splendide decoravit, et in eodem liberam capellam collegialem ordinavit, quam multis possessionibus tam temporalibus quam ecclesiasticis magnifice dotavit. Et prædictorum operum supervisorem constituit Willelmum Wikeham antedictum, ad cujus dispositionem omnia regis ædificia tunc temporis erant peracta. Illius igitur prudentiam attendens, rex Edwardus ditavit eundem pinguibus beneficiis, ac procedente tempore experta illius ingenti discretione suum privatum sigillum fecerat deportare. Sic igitur largifluus dator rerum ipse Deus servo suo Willelmo antedicto dum vixerat divitias contulit copiose, quatenus et sua familia in manum ejus augmentaretur quotidie, et unde singula consummarentur quæ proposuit in honorem Dei et beatissimæ Marie virginis, matris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, facere copiosius largiretur, ut liquet ¹ in sequentibus.

4. *De procuratione regis ut idem Willelmus promoveretur in episcopum Wyntoniensem.*

Edwardus rex Angliæ tertius anno Domini M^{mo} CCC^{mo} LXVJ^o, civitate Wyntoniensi privata suo antistite disponente divina gratia, videns et considerans Willelmum prædictum suum officium prudenter agentem et fidelissimum sibi, sedi Wyntoniensi viis et modis licitis prout decuit præficere procuravit. Credidit enim ipsum Willelmum qui tanti honoris onus portaret, quem totiens magnanimum in magnis periculis expertus fuisset, suis heredibus profuturum si se

¹ MS. linquet.

fatalis dies immature rebus humanis eximeret, speraveratque rex seipsum per eundem Willelmum ecclesiastica et sæcularia negotia prout utilitas exposceret prudenter gesturum, si vita diuturniore ex Dei beneplacito frueretur ; quod rei eventus postmodum approbavit.

5. *De avisamento et deliberatione ejusdem Willelmi, si susciperet in se dignitatem episcopalem si contingeret ipsum ad illam eligi.*

Regi autem Edwardo non statim alludens prædictus clericus Willelmus Wykeham, qui experientissimus fuerat et solitus futura metiri, tantæ curæ sarcinam satis acute ponderavit. Cognovit enim onera pastoralis officii, regimen animarum, laborum sollicitudinem, negligentiae pœnam, mores vanos succedentium regum, et quicquid exosum liberisset inferre, delatorum calumnias, malignantium machinationes invidorum, morsus ambitiosorum, enormitates curiæ regis considerabat, et conferebat universa in corda suo. Unde et visum est sibi minus esse periculi respuere sublimia, quamvis pro fragilitate humana facilius respueret humilia. Nam si oblatum subiret officium credebat quod regem vel regum omnium Dominum cogeretur offendere, præsertim cum nemo possit duobus dominis servire quorum præcepta discordant. Non autem videbatur sibi regem Edwardum dominum suum et beneficiorum collatorem ad iram provocare, et notam ingratitude incurrere. Scilicet vel maximam reputabat insaniam, mandata Regis regum contemnere sub cujus signis militaret, Dominumque diffiteri cujus se servum profiteretur officio. Continuo sciens scriptum "Qui episcopatum desiderat bonum opus desiderat," præesse desiderabat et prodesse. Memorque professionis suæ quasi cruorem curiæ sæcularis abhorrebat, vitam secretiorem appetebat, quæ competentius ad Rachaelem intraret, Helyam non desereret, quæ vicissim in campos cum Jesu

et cum Moyse descenderet de monte. Scilicet hoc cogitanti reclamabat alia scriptura, scilicet qui invitatus renuit quæsitus refugit sacris altaribus admittendus; sic qui ultro aut importune se ingerit proculdubio est repellendus. Itaque regi aliisque eum promovere volentibus aliquandiu reluctatus est, nolens in se aliquo modo pontificalis officii suscipere dignitatem, nisi prius ei de electione ejusdem canonice facta per eos ad quos de jure pertinebat jus et potestas eligendi patefieret manifeste.

6. *De electione ejusdem in episcopum facta per religiosos viros ecclesiæ cathedralis Wyntoniensis.*

Tandem providens Dominus domui suæ quem novo sole apud australes Angliæ partes illuminare disposuit viros religiosos ecclesiæ Wyntoniensis specialiter excitavit qui antedictum Willelmum eligerent in pontificem. Proce- dentes igitur quorum interfuit super electione futuri pontificis non alium magis ecclesiæ cathedrali vel ipsis expedire verius æstimantes, inito consilio sæpedictum Willelmum in pastorem suum juxta communis juris formam canonice elegerunt, quem regi noverant acceptum rebusque divinis et humanis expertum. Qua electione regi præsentata cujus auctoritate roboraretur, ut ei suffragator in expediendis existet, ultra quam credi potest gavisus est et lætatum est cor suum. Gratias igitur egit Deo qui talem super suum gregem elegit pastorem, in totius regni et præcipue diocesis Wyntoniensis consolationem; quem ab ipso Domino, plebe nesciente quod fecit, nullus dubitaret electum.

7. *Quomodo dictus Willelmus per electionem et confirmationem se disposuit renovare, et induere novum hominem qui secundum Deum creatus est.*

Vir enim prædictus videlicet Willelmus Wykeham in omnibus his in gloriam non est elatus humanam scilicet

Dei in se bonitatem altius recognoscens, illud Sapientis sedulo meditabatur "Principem te constituerunt, noli extolli; sed esto in illis quasi unus ex eis." Consecratus igitur in episcopum Wyntoniensem anno Domini M^o CCC^{mo} LXVIJ^o, et anno regis Edwardi tertii XL^o, ætatis vero dicti Willelmi XLIIJ^o, ut cum sacramento rem sacramenti consequeretur, veterem hominem renovare disposuit, et induit se novum hominem qui secundum Dominum creatus est, recordatusque quæ ardua conscenderet, quæ sæcularis antea neglexerat, tempus redimere contendit; unde tanquam transfiguratus in virum alium hanc sibi vivendi formam proposuit, ut scilicet suis se domesticis præberet æqualem, sacerdotibus humilem, plebi gratum, compatiens miseris, largum egenis. Et ut illi cura Dei cultus foret devotio major quam ante, seque sollicitaret in ecclesiis et aliis locis diversis ad divinum honorem pertinentibus constituendis et reparandis; quod quidem propositum fideliter adimplevit, prout in sequentibus sermo lucidus reserabit.

8. De conversatione ejus postquam electus est et confirmatus in episcopum.

Spiritus sancti institutu doctus prædictus Willelmus, considerans se patrem multarum gentium constitutum, æstimavit rectum renovationis progressum a seipso incipere, et tunc se recte aliis dominari posse, si sibi ipsi prius didicisset imperare. Corpus igitur suum servituti subjiciens docuit ancillari et spiritui dominari, sciensque quod caritas non quærit quæ sua sunt, non solum in se sed in proprio primum venari cæpit. Nam lares ægrorum et debiliū per suos scrutabatur, et beneficiis visitabat, victu vestituque sustentabat quamplurimos eorundem. Quotidie etiam centum numerum pauperum per se vel per alios plena refectione et argenteorum largitione singulos exhilarabat. In omnibus igitur agendis Deum ante oculos habebat, nec

in aliquo desidiosus erat, turpis lucri cupiditatem a se extricabat, et in singulis legaliter sibi imperabat. Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in quantum potuit et præcipue ecclesiæ suæ cathedrali Wyntoniensi per omnia fideliter patrocinebatur, pacem inter discordes reformando. Consultus erat in ambiguis, in responsis promptus, alacer et affabilis,¹ nec erat sermo sterilis nec otiosus, quem commendabat laudabilis verborum et operum comitatus ; de quo non incongrue potest sic metrice dici :

Willelmum triplici probasse dicuntur honore
 Lingua modesta, manus commoda, mensque pia.
 In verbis verax, prece fervens, strenuus actu,
 Judicio justus, consilioque potens :
 Et nitida morum fama præclarus in omni,
 Principibus meruit complacuisse viris.
 Præcurrit magnos modico sub tempore parvus,
 Doctos indoctus arte, senesque puer.
 Interius fervent, foris ejus pectora lucent,
 Interius votis, muneribusque foris.
 Si quæris similem, similis vix invenietur ;
 Qualis quantus erat fructu testante docetur.
 O miranda Dei virtus, O gratia magna,
 Tam cito quæ talem efficit esse virum.
 Hoc exemplari parvi gaudete scholares,
 Hoc vos instruat, hoc ad meliora trahat.

9. *De injuriis eidem illatis propter episcopatum susceptum, et ejus patientia in eisdem.*

Hostis antiquus invidens novum hominem multiplici virtutum gratia pullulare, ne flores meritorum prodirent in fructus præmiorum, anno Domini M^o CCC^{mo} LXXVJ^o, et regni regis Edwardi tertii anno XLIX^o, ætatis vero dicti patris Willelmi Wykeham anno LII^o, consecrationis suæ anno IX^o,

¹ MS. effabilis.

per quosdam zizania superseminavit quæ fructum veteris amicitiae regis et pontificis penitus suffocarunt. De his tamen injuriis sibi illatis, propter diversas causas me moventes magis sentio fore tacendum quam loquendum. In his igitur tribulationibus et angustiis pater prædictus Willelmus patientiam observabat, gratias agens gratiae Largitori qui se sic misericorditer flagellavit. Consideransque quod omnis cordis aut corporis afflictio citra meritum, et fructus salutis est sine patientiae condimento, cum ipsæ virtutes nisi patientiae habeant fundamentum virtutis nomen perdunt, nam mundana est virtus quæ non patientiam servat, cum sancto Job istas tribulationes et angustias sustinuit patienter, semper paratus multo plura pro justitia pati, illud Scripturæ commemorans, "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam." Donum igitur Dei altissimi et quicquid circa eum benigne disposuit gratanter acceptavit, votis suis reputans plenissime satisfactum, speransque quod per afflictiones hujusmodi succederet sibi et solatio grata, quod rei eventus postmodum approbavit, ut in sequenti capitulo brevibus reserabo.

10. De reformatione injuriarum sibi illatarum; et quomodo profecit fundare duo collegia, unum videlicet Oxoniæ et alterum Wyntoniam.

Ex dispositione divina anno proximo subsequente, videlicet XI kalendas Junii anno Domini M^o CCC^o LXXVII^o, decedente rege Edwardo, successit sibi rex Ricardus secundus, cui prædictus pontifex multum acceptabilis fuerat. Unda et ab exilio suæ miseriæ et angustiae est reversus, et sic subsequuntur gaudium post mærorem, post laborem requies, post amaritudinem dulcedo, et post persecutionem prosperitas: et cætera alludebant sibi ad votum. Succedentibus igitur prosperis diebus pater Willelmus Wyntoniam antistes, volens sibi divini favoris gratiam

misericordiis pauperum conciliari propensius, cogitans quoque et recogitans quanta fecerat illi Deus, qui ditavit egenum, sublimiavit humilem, apertis thesauris suis duo collegia clericorum, unum videlicet in universitate Oxoniæ, et aliud prope civitatem Wyntoniæ ad laudem Dei et gloriosissimæ matris ejus, ecclesiæ sanctæ profectum, divini cultus liberaliumque artium scientiarum et facultatum augmentum, proposuit ordinare perpetuis futuris temporibus divina favente gratia firmiter duratura; quæ opera, divinitus sibi ut creditur inspirata, ut in sequentibus dicetur feliciter consummavit.

II. De fundatione collegii beatæ Mariæ Wynton in Oxonia.

Erexit igitur titulum et posuit primum lapidem in collegio beate Mariæ Wynton in Oxonia Lincolnensi diocesi, vulgariter nuncupatæ "Seynt Mary College of Wyntchestre in Oxenforde," anno Domini M^o CCC^{mo} LXXIX^o, hora IIIJ ante meridiem quinti diei mensis Martii, qui fuit dies Lunæ tertiæ septimanæ XL, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi tertio, ætatis vero dicti patris anno LV^o, et consecrationis suæ anno XIJ^o. In quo quidem collegio constructa est capella cum cæteris domibus et officinis necessariis, sicut patet cuilibet intuenti. Constructis igitur ædificiis ejusdem collegii in spatio VIJ annorum, constituit idem pater in eodem numerum LXX^{ta} scholarium in diversis scientiis et facultatibus studere debentium, decem capellanorum, trium clericorum, et sexdecim puerorum choristarum pro divinis officiis in capella prædicti collegii quotidie per eosdem sollemniter celebrandis, necnon et unius custodis qui præsetter omnibus et singulis supradictis ac suis fruentibus. Hæc enim pater prædictus ad laudem, gloriam, et honorem nominis Crucifixi et gloriosissimæ Mariæ matris ejus, sustentationem et exaltationem fidei Christianæ, ecclesiæ sanctæ

profectum, divini cultus liberaliumque artium scientiarum et facultatum augmentum, auctoritate apostolica et regia ordinavit, instituit, fundavit, et stabilivit, prout in cartis et literis patentibus super ordinatione et institutione et fundatione collegii prædicti continetur. Quorum quidem custodis et scholarium et cæterorum prædictorum primus ingressus in locum antedictum ad inibi habitandum fuerat hora tertia ante meridiem XIII^o die mensis Aprilis, die videlicet Sabbati proximo præcedente Dominicam in Ramis Palmarum, anno Domini M^o CCC^{mo} LXXXVJ^o, cum cruce erecta et litania sollemniter cantata processionaliter gradiendo. Quod quidem collegium sic per eundem patrem fundatum possessionibus temporalibus et spiritualibus dotavit dictus fundator ad sustentationem commorantium in eodem, ut dicam in capitulo subsequenti.

12. De fundatione collegii beatæ Mariæ prope civitatem Wyntonia.

Tandem prædictus pater recogitans in seipso cultum Dei ampliare, juxta propositum suum alias hoc diffiniens ut in præcedentibus dixi, nondum anno elapso post operis consummationem in collegio suo Oxoniæ, aliud collegium fundare et dotare incepit prope civitatem Wyntoniæ, vulgariter nuncupatum "Seynt Mary College of Wyntchestre." Cujus quidem primi lapidis positio fuerat facta XXVJ^o die mensis Martii, hora autem IJ ante meridiem, anno Domini M^o CCC^{mo} LXXXVIJ^o, regni vero regis Ricardi secundi anno XJ^o, et consecrationis dicti patris anno XX^o, ætatis vero suæ anno LXVIIJ^o. Demum istius collegii ædificiis necessariis sic constructis in spatio sex annorum, videlicet post primi lapidis positionem, ordinavit et constituit fundator antedictus in eodem collegio numerum LXX^{ta} scholarium parvulorum in ætate tenera existentium grammaticam addiscere debentium, unius magistri in grammatica et hostiarii sub ipso

eisdem intendere debentium propter instructionem eorundem in moribus et scientiis, decem etiam sociorum perpetuorum¹ in ordine sacerdotali constitutorum, et trium aliorum capellanorum conductitorum, trium clericorum, et XVJ puerorum choristarum pro divinis officiis in capella dicti collegii quotidie relevandis, necnon et unius custodis qui præesset omnibus supradictis et suis fruentibus, ad laudem et gloriam majestatis divinæ, et specialiter in honorem beatissimæ Mariæ Virginis genetricis Dei, ut in superiori capitulo proximo declaravi. Quorum quidem custodi sociorum scholarium cæterorumque omnium prædictorum ingressus primus ad inibi inhabitandum fuit hora IIJ ante meridiem XXVIIJ^o die mensis Martii anno Domini M^o CCC^{mo} XCIIJ^o, regni vero regis Ricardi XVIJ^o, cum cruce erecta præcedente, sollemni cantu processionaliter gradiendo. Eia jam quis hunc olim mendicum, quis hunc olim indignum, quis hunc olim pauperem non testetur nunc divitem? dives siquidem fuit cui nihil quod multis sufficere defuit. Dives inquam fuit qui supradicta collegia pauperibus scholaribus ædificavit propter Christum, ut superius tetigi, eademque dotavit possessionibus tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus, nonnulla etiam vero mobilia, videlicet libros, calices, vestimenta, pannos aureos, et cetera necessaria ad divinum cultum spectantia, quæ omnia longum esset hic enarrare, eisdem collegiis condonavit. Plusquam ducentos servos Dei instituens in eisdem deductis suis provenientibus quamvis in tam brevi spatio annorum quibus prædicta facta sunt, magnis regibus difficillimum sic facere videretur. Et audacter dico, ut verius loquor, per se ista non potuit scilicet ut facta fuerant evidenter pronunciant. Deus igitur largitor, et Willelmus dispensator et minister; alter dapsiliter stillabat, alter divitias stillatas fideliter dividebat; de quo

¹ MS. "perpetuatorum."

non immerito potest dici illud Scripturæ, "Fidelis servus et prudens quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam."

13. De opibus et beneficiis quæ fecit et exhibuit suæ cathedrali ecclesiæ et aliis locis.

Est insuper non immerito inserendum quod prædictus pater, ultra magnifica opera istorum collegiorum prædictorum quæ ipse Wyntonix et Oxonix ad Dei laudem et cleri augmentationem sicut prædixi sumptuose fundavit, plura memoriæ digna ecclesiæ cathedrali Wyntonix fecit. Nam ecclesiam illam pluribus donis quam hic inseri possunt munifice decoravit, corpusque dictæ ecclesiæ cum duabus alis,¹ et omnibus fenestris vitreis a magna occidentali fenestra capitali usque ad campanile, a fundo usque ad summum de novo reparavit, et voltas in eisdem opere curioso constituit; quod quidem opus feliciter consummavit. Qui etiam talem immunitatem prædictæ ecclesiæ adquisivit, quod singulos de eadem inibi commorantes, et suos successores, ab omnimoda jurisdictione civitatis penitus liberavit; ut sic exempti, quamvis infra civitatem situantur, de civitate tamen quantum ad territorium nullatenus dicerentur. Scilicet ab omnibus quæ incolis hujus civitatis solent imponi reddebat immunes, ut eo liberius Deo interius obsequerentur quo se exterius ex actionibus conspiciunt non gravatos. Vestimenta quoque de panno aurco cum aliis jocalibus nonnullis eidem ecclesiæ contulit, ut mysterium Dei eo amplius dulcesceret in cordibus hominum quo nobilius exterius veneretur. Quantas autem expensas circa reges et procures continuo effundebat, quot vias lutas, quot pontes fractos et debiles, quot ecclesias rumosas et exiles sine sumptibus emendabat, quot etiam calices, libros, et vestimenta diversis ecclesiis in suo diocesi et alibi constitutis largiter condonavit, non stilo poterit

¹ MS. "elys."

brevi comprehendi. O refugium pauperum, cleri alumnus, Deitatis cultor, pietatis amator, hospitalite largus, liberalitate plenus, opere magnificus, et omni morum probitate fæcundus, ministerium suum implevit bona Domini sui fideliter dispensando.

14. *De morte et loco sepulturæ ejusdem patris.*

Omnibus supradictis juxta dispensationem divinam completis, venerabilis pater prædictus, qui cum plenus esset dierum octogenarius complete totum se Deo commendans, in fide Christi sub sacramentis ecclesiæ in senectute vero cum patribus requievit, videlicet anno Domini M° CCCC^{mo} IIIJ° et consecrationis suæ anno XXXVIJ°, anno regni regis Henrici quarti VI^{to}, XX° die mensis Septembris in festo Sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani, die scilicet Sabbati, qui est dies requiei ; quem speramus de labore ad requiem, de triumpho ad gaudium, de miseria ad beatitudinem veraciter expirasse. Cujus corpus jacet tumulatum in oratorio beatæ Mariæ Virginis in navi ecclesiæ cathedralis Wyntonix, quod ipse superstes ad honorem ejusdem Virginis fieri ordinavit. In quo ad minimum tres missæ speciales pro anima ejusdem patris, parentum, et benefactorum suorum ac omnium fidelium defunctorum quotidie celebrantur, una in ejus laudem. Ut finis detur operi possum sic metricè fari :

Ecce tot expletis in prosperitate diebus,

Parva mori magnum conspicit homo virum.

Subtrahitur sed non moritur, quia semper habetur

Ipsius egregium nomen in orbe novum.

Omnis conditio, professio, sexus, et ætas

Willelmi Wykeham luget obesse virum.

Præcipue lacrimas effundunt pàuper inopsque

Hujus larga manus quos refovere solet.

Nam pietatis opus quod distribuebat egenis

Enarrare satis nostra loquela nequit.

Oremus quod vera Dei lux luceat illi,
Et det ei requiem perpetuumque diem. Amen.

*Explicit tractatus seu libellus de prosapia vita et gestis
venerabilis patris et domini Willelmi Wykeham nuper
episcopi Wyntoniae, editus anno Domini M^o CCCC^o XXIV^o,
qui fuit annus XX^{us} post obitum ejusdem patris, et regni
Henrici VI^o anno I^o.*

THE END.

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